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ABSTRACT

This evaluation of India's Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) investigated the process of existing rural communication, the role of television as a new medium of communication in SITE instructional areas, and the process of change brought about by television in the rural structure at the micro-level. The report includes descriptions of the methodological strategy and profiles of the villages; analyses of the cultural and developmental communication patterns; discussions of the introduction of television to the villages, the viewers, content and preferences, the process of change, the educational role of television, and the effects of the removal of television; and conclusions and implications of the findings. The objectives of SITE as defined in the Memorandum of Understanding, a daily television viewing observations sheet, and lists of Jatis and Jati-like groups in hierarchy are appended. (CHC)

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Satellite Instructional Television Experiment

Television Comes to Village
An Evaluation of SITE

Binod C. Agrawal
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October 1978

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Configuration

India's Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) was among the most advanced and probably the largest experiment on human communication so far. SITE was a vision of the late Prof. Vikram A. Sarabhai.

The one-year pilot project was conducted from August 1, 1975 to July 31, 1976, in 2330 villages spanning 20 districts of six states (clusters) and in 355 villages of Kheda district, Gujarat State.

TV signals were beamed from Ahmedabad Earth Station to the ATS-6 satellite of NASA for broadcasting. These signals were received by the direct reception system TV sets in the villages of six clusters. Whereas in Kheda national Hindi programme was telecast through rediffusion system.

For school children of 5-12 years age, science education and other enrichment programmes were telecast in the morning (except Kheda), for 22½ minutes each in four languages between 10 to 11-30 am on the school days.

The programmes for adult viewers, classified into three categories—national (including news in Hindi), instructional and recreational, were telecast between 6 and 9 every evening in five languages. Approximately 30 per cent programmes were instructional and the remaining belonged to other categories.

Study

Extended field-based holistic study aimed at providing a microlevel, indepth, qualitative understanding of the process of socio-cultural changes triggered by the introduction of satellite TV.

Seven villages, one each from six clusters and Kheda, having a multi-*jati* population between 1000-1500, about 20 to 30 km away from an urban centre and least contaminated by urban influence were selected. These villages broadly represented seven cultural and linguistic regions.

The field work was divided into three phases—pre-SITE, during-SITE and post-SITE. Local language knowing anthropologists conducted field work. Four of them stayed in the villages for a period of about 18 months, whereas the others stayed for 10 to 14 months. Anthropological field methods, like case studies and participant observation, were the main tools of data collection. The data were analysed at two levels—household and village.

Rural Profile

There were more or less equal sex ratio in the villages, having an average population of 1150 distributed into 212 households of 5.4 persons. More than three fourth of them belonged to Hindu religion, and the remaining to Islam and Christian religions.

The villages were divided into a number of hierarchically graded *jatis* and *jati*-like groups in which approximately one-third belonged to lower *jati* and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The village settlement pattern revealed a continuity of hierarchy maintaining territorial exclusiveness of various *jatis*.

The main source of livelihood is agriculture, which is non-*jati* associated activity and practiced by majority of the households. Modern methods of cultivation is still limited to the use of high yielding varieties of seed and small quantity of fertilizer.

Panchayati Raj is prevalent and forms the formal political system along with the informal system which consists of the village leaders, normally the ex-Zamindars and large land owners.

Three seperate boundaries of cultural communication were observed within a household, *jati* and village. Most communications centred around religion, economics, and life cycle activities. Inverse relationship between economic status and communication between the sexes were observed. Among poor, conversation centred around their economic, psychological and sexual exploitation.

On an average, one among ten households owned a radio and listened to popular commercial programmes. Less than 4 per cent households subscribed to any periodical or newspaper. However, little over 25 per cent persons in each household had visited cinema at least once.

Majority of the developmental informations were received first by the economically or politically important persons, who carefully manipulated and controlled those for their own benefit. Some of the informations also trickled down to a few poors through interpersonal channels of rich and important ones.

Arrival of TV

Television was conceived as *Tamasha Mooka* (silent cinema) and *Saleema* (cinema) was meant for recreation and some information. In community viewing situation, those who lived within the distance of 300 metres from TV centre came to view TV more frequently and in larger numbers than those who lived beyond this distance. Other factors that affected TV viewing were location of TV centre, custodian, climate, power failure, TV disorder and change in the telecast schedule.

Viewers initially came in large numbers, highest being 500. But gradually it stabilized to a little below 100 in the evening. In the morning, apart from school children a few non-school-going children also came to view TV.

In every household, atleast two persons above 4 years of age viewed TV more than four times a month. The viewers consisted of 61.6 per cent males and 38.4 per cent females. An inverse relationship between age and TV viewing was observed. Regardless of occupation, TV attracted relatively more educated than uneducated viewers when considered in the light of literacy rate.

The most easily comprehended instructional programmes were those presented in demonstration-cum-lecture format, even in two-audio one-video system. The recreational and mythological programmes were well liked especially if adapted from "folk tradition". Lectures and discussions on family planning and other instructional areas were least appreciated.

In one-video and two-audio system, live announcements, instructional programmes presented in lecture/discussion format created annoyance and disinterest both for Telugu and Kannada viewers.

Adults

TV viewing and its presence directly triggered the process of change in agriculture, health, hygiene and nutrition areas. Programme repetition helped in accelerating the process. After viewing TV

the new idea or information went through a process of comparison with the existing knowledge, gauging economic advantages and disadvantages; keeping the idea to one self; reconsideration in the light of the constraints, available resources, and risk involved; actual adoption without telling anyone, and disclosure of the adoption only when results were positive.

Adoption of new innovations seemed feasible where the innovation did not require expertise assistance, large additional expenditure, but promised higher economic gains and minimal risk.

Viewing of family planning TV programmes yielded little positive results. However, it helped in reinforcing family planning ideas and aroused public discussion.

After initial resistance, lower-*jatis* were tolerated to sit next to high-*jatis* viewers. TV became a new reference point, a symbol of new messages; TV information was used to win points over others; it also aroused fears in the wrong doers and infused courage among poor to demand better wages from land owners.

School Children

For young school children the TV programmes in general were above comprehension level, especially the science programmes. Higher the age group, higher was the comprehension of the programmes.

Programmes related to creative ability under "Do it yourself" were most liked and children tried to make objects shown on TV. Teacher-student interaction increased as a result of TV viewing but no pre-or-post viewing discussions were observed.

From health and nutrition programmes the children learnt to take bath and keep their surrounding clean and even a few adopted them, but they could not understand how bacteria affected the health.

While the visuals received more applause from the children audio part was not so effective because of bad dubbing and translation especially of the science programmes.

Teachers Training

Majority of the teachers under multi-media package training programme thought that the TV visuals were very accurate and helped considerably in understanding the science themes than only by listening to the radio.

The training gave the teachers new direction and confidence in teaching science. Teachers in non-Hindi speaking villages felt it was possible to use the training meaningfully in actual practice, whereas Hindi speaking teachers were of the opposite view.

The second training seemed to be better organized and planned compared to the first one. Lack of facilities like accommodation, food and large age differences among the trainees adversely affected the training.

Implications

Introduction of TV on a large scale in village India would help in accelerating the process of development. Better method has to be evolved to select and train the custodian and also to involve the state and district agencies for smooth TV operation.

Since there are "class" differences in communication behaviour, TV should cater to the needs of poor and landless by treating them as their prime target audience.

Keeping in view the dialect differences, it is suggested to use higher proportion of visuals.

TV should be centrally located in a public building to have maximum participation.

Care should be taken while drawing telecast timing schedule so that important programmes are not telecast during peak agricultural and festival periods.

"Demonstration-cum-lecture" format was most comprehended even in single-video and two-audio system. Further experimentations are required for utilizing this format in this mode.

Attempts should be made to telecast the instructional programmes keeping the target audience and their cultural sensitivity in view. Instructional programme plan should be drawn in such a fashion which would allow programme repetition as it helps in reinforcing the new ideas, learning of the accurate steps, and leading to eventual adoption.

For optimal use of school TV, age of the target audience should be defined and the curriculum should be drawn to promote teacher-student interaction, essential for broadening the child's mental horizon.

TV is found to be more useful than radio and printed material for the multi-media package teacher's training. Proper selection of trainees and availability of proper facilities would help better utilization of the training.

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The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

Location of clusters receiving radiation from the ATS-6 satellite during SITE. 1. Andhra Pradesh, 2. Bihar, 3. Karnataka, 4. Madhya Pradesh, 5. Orissa, 6. Rajasthan.

Chapter One

Introduction

Towards Universal Culture

India's Satellite Instructional Television Experiment or SITE, as it is popularly known, is among the most advanced and probably the largest experiment on human communication known so far. In this project, the Experimenters' main objective was to provide instantaneous information for national development to those who otherwise would have been deprived of such information for many years to come due to technological constraints. There is no doubt, that SITE added a new dimension to the communication history of mankind. Suddenly, SITE brought the landless labourers of Ghenupali (District Sambalpur, Orissa) and many others, face to face with a new reality of a world beyond the village. They did not know whether this "wonder" would lead to disaster for the members of their households, villages, and nation, or whether it would bring new hopes for a "better-life."

India is not the only country which has employed satellite communication for development. Many other countries are planning to use the new technology for educational and developmental purposes. But none of the developed or developing countries in the world have experimented with communication satellite so far, in the way it was used in India for telecasting television messages directly to remote villages (Frutkin, 1973).

SITE is a vision of the late Vikram A. Sarabhai, who thought that "national development" is only possible if the most advanced technology like communication satellites were used to reach the remote villages of India. It was his opinion that :

> in any developing country, one of the prime ingredients of development is the dissemination of information: information about new fertilizers, seeds, insecticides, cropping patterns, new goods and services, new living patterns, etc. The process of education is basically related to an information dissemination/transfer process. For the rapid and sustained growth of developing countries, the urgent need to disseminate information to the masses is obvious. Mass media are clearly the main component in this system of information transfer.... Television is ideal as a medium to convey information and news to the masses of people—particularly to the illiterate segment of population, on whom such an audio-visual medium would have profound impact (Sarabhai, 1969).

It was clear to Sarabhai that such a venture would require international scientific cooperation. As a first step to achieve his goal, Sarabhai, on behalf of the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE), Government of India, signed an agreement with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), USA, on September 18, 1969. The title of the agreement was "India-US ITV Satellite Experiment Project."

According to the agreement, in technical terms NASA was to provide ATS-F (Applications Technology Satellite-F after launching redesignated as ATS-6) for a period of one year. Other

technical responsibilities of the experiment, like transmission of TV programmes, installation of television, maintenance, programme production and management were to be the responsibility of India. The general and specific objectives of the experiment, as mentioned in the memorandum of understanding, are given in Appendix 1.1.

After the signing of the agreement both countries started working on their part of the project. Due to one reason or the other, the whole experiment could not gain any momentum until mid-1973 as the project was delayed on either side by two to three years.

Finally, ATS-6 (sixth in the series), the most powerful and sophisticated satellite of this series was lifted into space on May 30, 1974. On Indian side, the village selection, system integration, deployment and other related activities started in mid-1973. The actual experiment commenced on August 1, 1975, for a period of one year.

It is difficult at this point of the history to dwell upon the question as to what communication satellite would do to man in future. But it is beyond doubt that the concept of "space" and "time" would be drastically modified soon. May be global and international communication would lead to closer interaction and more interdependence among nations. Further, whether it may lead to "cultural invasion" and towards "universal culture" is difficult to predict. However, a new universal language would be required for communication among the nations to bridge the knowledge gap that exists today. Whatever may happen, we can only think how best satellite communication can be used for the national development (in a narrow sense) and human development (in a broader sense). SITE was a pilot project and an effort in this direction.

SITE SYSTEM

The technological innovation, its capability and limitations must be fully comprehended in order to measure what satellite communication did to rural TV viewers.

The one year SITE was conducted in 2,330 villages of six states, referred to as clusters. The states were Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan. The districts and number of villages selected in each state are given in Table 1.1 and the activities are depicted in the Map. Table 1.1 also indicates the distribution of TV sets in Kheda district, Gujarat.

Direct Reception System

In each village the special TV set installed was known as Direct Reception System (DRS). DRS had basically three elements—a three-metre chicken mesh parabolic antenna, a low noise pre-amplifier, and a conventional TV. All TV sets, except 134 battery operated TV sets installed in Orissa, operated on 220 volt mains. In addition, approximately 504 conventional TV sets in 355 villages were installed in Kheda district, Gujarat (there was more than one TV set per village).

Telecast Schedules

The programmes were telecast in the morning and in the evening in all the clusters, excluding Kheda where it was telecast in the evening. The morning and evening telecast schedules are given in Tables 1.2 and 1.3.

TABLE 1.1

Distribution of SITE villages by Cluster, District and Maintenance Sub-Centres

*Cluster and District***	*Number of Villages*	*Maintenance Sub-Centres*	*TV Sets Catered*		*Cluster Total*
Andhra Pradesh					400
Hyderabad	148	Hyderabad*	125		
Medak	66	Sangareddy	89		
Mehboobnagar	96	Nagar Kurnool	96		
Kurnool	90	Nandyal	90		
Bihar					393
Muzaffarpur	139	Muzaffarpur*	110		
Champaran	89	Motihari	91		
Darbhanga	132	Darbhanga	80		
Saharsa	33	Samastipur	79		
		Saharsa	33		
Karnataka					400
Gulbarga	109	Gulbarga*	109		
Bijapur	215	Bijapur	107		
Raichur	76	Raichur	76		
		Bagalkot	108		
Madhya Pradesh					398
Raipur	168	Raipur*	99		
Durg	142	Mahasamund	99		
Bilaspur	88	Rajnandgaon	100		
		Bilaspur	100		
Orissa					351
Sambalpur	142	Sambalpur*	142		
Dhenkanal	163	Dhenkanal	82		
Boudh kondmal	46	Angul	81		
		Boudh	46		
Rajasthan					388
Jaipur	269	Jaipur*	143		
Sawai Madhopur	62	Chomu	126		
Kota	57	Gangapur	62		
		Kota	57	Sub-Total	2,330
Kheda (Gujarat)	355	Nadiad	504		504
Total	2,685		2,834		2,834

* *Cluster headquarters.*

** *For the purpose of SITE, pre-1971 districts were used. However, few old districts were divided into a number of new districts which are mentioned below :*

In Bihar, Muzaffarpur district (old) is divided into three districts : Muzaffarpur, Vaishali, and Sitamarhi. Similarly, Champaran district (old) is divided into East Champaran and West Champaran (Bettiah) districts ; and Darbhanga district (old) is divided into Darbhanga, Samastipur, and Madhubani districts. In Madhya Pradesh, Durg district has been divided into two : Durg and Rajnandgaon districts.

TABLE 1.2

Morning Telecast Schedule by Clusters

Name of the Cluster	*Video (Picture)*	*Audio (Language)*	*Timings*
	(August 1, 1975 – July 31, 1976)		
Karnataka	One	Kannada	10.00 am – 10.22½am
Orissa	One	Oriya	10.22½am – 10.45 am
Andhra Pradesh	One	Telugu	10.45 am – 11.7½ am
Bihar, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh	One	Hindi	11.7½ am – 11.30 am

Mode of Telecast: Specially pre-recorded TV programmes were telecast from Ahmedabad television studio. The television studio was connected with the Prime Earth Station, situated near the studio, from where the TV signals were sent to ATS-6 located 35,680 km, above the 35° west longitude in outer space. The signals were sent back by the satellite to the earth. These signals were received directly by the Direct Reception System (TV sets) installed in the village. The satellite had the capacity of two audio (languages) and one video (picture) transmission. So in the evening the same picture was seen by Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka viewers while they heard them in Telugu and Kannada languages respectively (refer Table 1.3).

In case of Kheda, one-hour evening programme was telecast everyday through Pij transmitter. The half-hour national programme in Hindi was telecast through rediffusion system. Whereas the half-hour Gujarati programme was telecast from Ahmedabad studio.

TV Programmes: All the programmes for SITE were produced by Doordarshan's three Base Production Units in Cuttack, Delhi and Hyderabad. In addition, science education programmes for children and Gujarati programmes for Kheda were produced by Space Applications Centre, at Ahmedabad and Bombay SITE studios. Half-hour national programmes (partly live) were produced at Delhi Base Production Unit. They were transmitted from Delhi Earth Station.

The programmes produced and telecast to adult rural viewers can be broadly categorised into: (1) news for all 6 clusters and Kheda in Hindi from Delhi, and other information on agricultural and developmental activities, (2) instructional programmes on agriculture, animal husbandry, family planning, health and nutrition, in five languages—Hindi, Gujarati, Kannada, Telugu and Oriya (these programmes are referred to as "hardcore" programmes), and (3) recreational programmes — mythological, musical, theatrical, drama and songs, and dance (these are referred to as "softcore" programmes and they also contained some instructional messages). Few children's programmes were also telecast in the evening. In the regular morning telecast science education and other enrichment programmes were shown in each language separately, except Kheda. Estimate of programme content for the entire year is presented in chapter 7.

Maintenance: There were twenty four maintenance centres (four in each cluster) except Bihar, where Saharsa was an additional maintenance sub-centre, for maintenance and repair of the TV sets. In each centre a technical person equipped with a jeep and a phone was responsible for the maintenance of approximately 100 TV sets. In Kheda, the Gujarat Government

TABLE 1.3

Evening Telecast Schedule by Clusters

Name of the Cluster	*Video (Picture)*	*Audio (Language)*	*Timings*
	August 1, 1975 — October 31, 1975		
Andhra Pradesh-Karnataka . .	One	Telugu/Kannada	6.20 pm – 7.00 pm
National Programme . .	One	Hindi	7.00 pm – 7.30 pm
Orissa-Madhya Pradesh . .	One	Oriya/Hindi	7.30 pm – 8.10 pm
Rajasthan-Bihar . .	One	Hindi	8.10 pm – 8.50 pm
	November 1, 1975 — March 31, 1976		
Rajasthan-Bihar-Madhya Pradesh . .	One	Hindi	6.00 pm – 7.00 pm
National Programme . .	One	Hindi	7.00 pm – 7.30 pm
Orissa . .	One	Oriya	7.30 pm – 7.50 pm
Andhra Pradesh-Karnataka . .	One	Telugu/Kannada	7.50 pm – 8.30 pm
	April 1, 1976 — July 31, 1976		
Orissa . .	One	Oriya	6.40 pm – 7.00 pm
National Programme . .	One	Hindi	7.00 pm – 7.30 pm
Bihar-Rajasthan-Madhya Pradesh . .	One	Hindi	7.30 pm – 8.30 pm
Andhra Pradesh-Karnataka . .	One	Telugu/Kannada	8.30 pm – 9.10 pm

was responsible for maintenance and repair. The total monitoring of the SITE project was done from Ahmedabad. Other activities like social research and utilization were partly conducted in Ahmedabad and partly in the clusters. This, in short, was the SITE configuration.

Communication as a Process

Communication may be defined as the process of transmitting information from a source to a receiver, with the intention of affecting behaviour change. SITE was a pilot project which provided a new system of communication with the intention of affecting behavioural changes among the villagers. This system of communication had two specific characteristics : (1) it was directly available in the farmyards of the villagers, living in the interior parts of the country, and (2) television was equally available to all those who wanted to view it in a community viewing situation, as it was installed in public places like schools and *panchayat ghar* (village council house).

A little less than fifty years ago, Edward Sapir observed that "every cultural pattern and every single act of social behaviour involves communication in either an explicit or implicit sense" (Sapir 1930). The modern experts of communication think that no culture can maintain itself without some system of communication. According to Schramm—

> society is a sum of relationships in which information of some kind is shared. Let us understand clearly one thing about it: Human communication is *something people do.* It has no life of its own. There is no magic about it except what people in the communication relationship put into it. When we study communication, therefore, we study people—relating to each other and to their groups, organizations, and societies, influencing each other, being influenced, informing and being informed, teaching and being taught, entertaining and being entertained. To understand human communication we must understand how people relate to one another (Schramm 1973).

Oral communication in predominantly non-literate cultures helps to transmit knowledge from one generation to another and to exchange ideas. Oral communication seems to be the most prevalent and important means of communication in Indian villages too.

Very little is known about the process of such communication in the Indian villages. Fischer (1973) while reviewing the primitive communication indicated that there is greater reliance on oral communication in the absence of writing. In village India, the situation does not seem very different at the moment. Use of printed media, and mass media seems to be almost non-existant due to the low level of education and extreme poverty. Concentrated attempts have not been made to understand the process of village communication in the context of a medium like television.

Review of Literature: Anthropological researches related to communication in India are limited in number. Apart from the study of Majumdar (1958) other studies conducted in India in the fifties are by Damle (1956), Dube (1958, 1967), Hein (1959), McCormack (1959), Marriott (1959)' in the mid sixties by Gumperz (1964) and Roy *et al* (1968) and in the early seventies by Danda and Danda (1971) and Gaikward *et al* (1973).

In these studies the major emphasis has been to analyse how religious messages are communicated in village India. Dramatics, *Ramlila* and *Katha* (epic stories) are some of the channels through which religious messages are transmitted to villagers. Hein (1959) and McCormack (1959) have studied the religious value of such communication.

Marriott (1959) observed that "traditional" (existing) channels of cultural communication are changing due to radio, newspapers and cinema in the context of village India.

Majumdar's study (1958) relates to caste *(jati)* and communication in a village in Lucknow District, Uttar Pradesh. Whereas Dube (1958) evaluated the effects of community development in western Uttar Pradesh, Danda and Danda (1971) followed the holistic approach to study the diffusion of agricultural innovations in a West Bengal village. Gaikward *et al* (1973) described interpersonal communication process in a Raipur (Madhya Pradesh) village. Roy *et al* (1968)

evaluated the impact of communication in Lucknow villages. In the first three studies the focus was not on the village communication process though, they have brought out the interpersonal communication aspects and its effects on social relations.

In short, this review of literature indicates the paucity of research in the area of village communication. Keeping in view the paucity of literature on communication process, it was felt that SITE as a new innovation must be evaluated as a process.

Social Evaluation : SITE social evaluation conducted by ISRO–SAC social researchers, was conceived as inter- and multi-disciplinary involving, as it did, development-oriented anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, political scientists and media-researchers. This involved a variety of theoretical concepts and methodological tools and techniques, leading to qualitative and quantitative evaluation.

This study for evaluation of SITE was undertaken to provide a micro-level, indepth, qualitative understanding of the process of socio-cultural changes that might have been triggered by the introduction of Satellite TV as a new medium of communication in village India. Socio-cultural implications of this new technological innovation, which was not known, must be studied to provide planning input for future national satellite based TV system.

In the absence of baseline data and due to cultural and linguistic differences of the various states under the experiment, it became imperative to conduct an "indepth, exploratory evaluative study" for which conventional approaches were thought unsuitable. It is this kind of conviction that led the researchers to seek the help of knowledge that studies man in his totality. "A fundamental proposition of anthropology is that no part can be fully or even accurately understood apart from the whole. And conversely the whole—man and his manifestations—cannot be accurately perceived without accurate and specialised knowledge of parts" (Hoebel 1966).

Keeping this theoretical frame in mind, the method and techniques for the study, that were to be followed became clear. Among many other evaluative studies, extended field work based village study, described here as "holistic study", was conceived within the field experimental design as a valid and alternative approach to be followed in the SITE social evaluation.

SITE instructional areas were defined in the "memorandum of understanding" (refer Appendix 1) and in other documents. But it may be mentioned that beyond the instructional areas the social objectives of SITE were not clearly outlined, therefore, it became the researcher's responsibility to define the social goal of the experiment and then to evaluate how far these goals were met. Keeping the above perspective in mind, the general and specific objectives of the social evaluation have been delineated.

General Objectives

1) To study the process of existing rural communication.
2) To study the role of TV as a new medium of communication in SITE instructional areas
3) To study the process of change brought about by TV in the rural structure at micro-level.

Specific Objectives

1) To study the process of cultural communication.
2) To study the various existing channels of rural and developmental communication.

3) To study the utilization pattern of existing channels of communication for developmental and non-developmental activities in SITE villages
4) To study the rediffusion process of developmental messages at pre-SITE, during-SITE and post-SITE
5) To study the substitution process, if any, of existing channels of communication by TV introduction
6) To study the positive and negative roles played by TV in accelerating rural development in areas of agriculture, family planning, health, hygiene and nutrition
7) To study micro-level changes brought about by TV in the village culture
8) To study the aspects of TV programme components
9) To study the impact of one picture–two language TV programming in Andhra Pradesh/ Karnataka villages
10) To evaluate the impact of the national programmes in Hindi on non-Hindi speaking villages
11) To study the process of adoption of developmental messages
12) To study the existing pattern of primary education in SITE villages and impact of TV on the school going children between 8–12 years age group
13) To study the pattern of communication in the above areas with special reference to females

The Study

Resources and research priorities became determining factors in limiting the size and scope of the holistic study. "The experimenters", keeping other priorities in mind, decided to sponsor one holistic study in each cluster including Kheda. Further, two more similar studies were conducted with special reference to females in the same two villages.

The nature of this evaluation study is more of an exploratory one. Hence, no hypothesis has been proposed in this study, although efforts have been made to record micro-level and intended and unintended changes that have been triggered due to the introduction of television in the villages under study.

The Report

The evaluative study presented in the following pages is based on seven village studies, conducted in each SITE cluster, and two studies on females in the same villages in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh. The Report is divided into 11 chapters. In chapter 2, methods and techniques followed for this study have been described. In chapter 3, cultural profiles of the villages under the study have been presented in a comparative perspective.

In chapter 4, pattern of cultural communication of the villages has been described using *emic* approach. Chapter 5 describes the existing patterns of developmental communication. Chapter 6 describes as to how TV was received in the villages upon its arrival. Chapter 7 analyses the characteristics of the viewers and their programme preference. The major emphasis in chapter 8 is on the description of the process of television communication and its intended and unintended effects. It also provides a number of detailed case studies as to how a television message went through various stages of modification and its final adoption or rejection. Chapter 9 analyses the impact of TV on school children and teachers. Chapter 10 brings out the feeling of the villagers when TV was withdrawn. In the last chapter, summary of the evaluative study has been presented along with policy implications and suggestions for future national satellite TV based system, keeping in view the pilot nature of this project.

Chapter Two

Methodological Strategy

In the previous chapter, an attempt was made to define the scope of the SITE project, and the objectives of the evaluation. The present chapter attempts to provide a description of the actual methods that were followed for this evaluative study and discusses the theoretical and the methodological issues involved.

In the past, majority of the TV summative evaluations consisted of quantitative "impact" or "effect" studies conducted with the help of sample surveys. Earlier surveys conducted in rural India had serious methodological problems in eliciting correct responses (Rudolph and Rudolph, 1960 and Elder, 1968). Therefore, it was felt that a method that allows deep probing and understanding of the communication process *insitu* should be followed as an alternative approach for social evaluation of SITE. We thought that "impact" survey would only allow a probe into some pre-determined specific areas, rather than the exploration of the wide canvas of human behaviour. In other words, instead of measuring the impact of TV in some specific areas, an attempt should be made to understand the role and process of TV communication while focusing on man in his totality. In order to analyse communication process as a whole, it became imperative to follow a "research design" which would allow diachronic observations. It is a safe assumption that TV messages are interpreted and understood within the cultural context. Therefore, it is essential to discover these cultural judgements and various categories of TV messages for contextual interpretation. Having this consideration in view, a methodological strategy, yielding the necessary data, became a challenge for us.

Emic approach allows the researcher to participate, observe, and study the cultural categories in which a "linguistic group" categorizes, classifies, and interprets new message (Harris 1968). It is because of this reason, that an attempt was made to collect data as best as possible in *emic* categories. So, at the emperical level, all daily observations, notes and diaries were written in the mother-tongue of the anthropologists and in the languages of the group under study. This approach was also adopted in order to avoid the use of any predetermined categories.

The seven villages which have been studied belong to seven states. Therefore, it is logical to raise the question whether data, thus collected, can be pooled together for the purpose of any meaningful comparison, and for drawing any general conclusions. A number of questions can be raised against any comparison, which also happens to be controversial issue in social sciences. However, in the present context, the major emphasis has been laid on comparison of the process rather than on the structure which we consider can be compared because any process is a dynamic phenomenon and follows a set of logical steps and sequence of events in time. In other words, the sequence of events occurring in different locales (villages), could be compared for the purpose of drawing meaningful conclusions and generalizations.

Within this theoretical and methodological framework, there were four steps involved in conducting the evaluative study :

1) Selection of a village in each cluster
2) Methods and techniques to be followed in data collection
3) Nature and quality of data to be collected
4) Specific areas, in which the focus should be directed towards obtaining answers to the specific questions of the evaluative study, raised in the form of objectives in the previous chapter

Village Selection

Anthropological and Sociological literature indicates that the 'real village', and the 'revenue village' represent two levels of sociological reality. For TV installation, the revenue village was considered as a spatial unit, as most of the official records, like census and revenue, were available only for the revenue village. It had become amply clear to the village selection team that a large revenue village, say in Bihar or Rajasthan, generally consisted of a number of satellite villages, in addition to the "main village". The entire revenue village was named after the main village in the census. Such a problem is not uncommon for the student of social sciences conducting researches in village India.

In order to bridge the gap between what seemed to be a meaningful spatial entity like a village, as defined in the anthropological and sociological literature, and the revenue village, a pragmatic decision was taken based on the assumption that those who lived near the TV centre in the spatially defined boundary would come to view TV. Such a spatial boundary should be studied (which has been referred to as "TV village" or "village"). The other settlements falling within the same revenue village are referred to as (in official records) *Dhani* in Rajasthan, *Tola* or *Parwa* in Bihar, *Kamp* in Karnataka, *Dera* in Madhya Pradesh, and *Sivaru* or *Madira* in Andhra Pradesh. These settlements referred to as "fringe" settlements were not the main focus of the study, though, the persons who came frequently to watch TV from these settlements had transactions with the main settlement.

Our primary focus of observation, therefore, throughout the study was the TV village, whereas the TV fringe settlements which may or may not be part of the original revenue villages were of secondary importance.

From the universe of 2,330 SITE villages (scattered in six clusters), and 355 villages of Kheda, the most important question was how to select a representative village in each cluster for this study.[1]

A two-stage sampling procedure was followed in the selection of villages from each cluster including Kheda. In the first stage, the districts were selected, and in the second stage, the villages were selected. (These criteria narrowed down the choice of selection of the villages. Still, it was fairly difficult to choose one village in each cluster based on the above criteria). First, it was decided to select a district in each cluster. Thus, seven districts had to be selected from within the list of 21 districts, that is, atleast one from each cluster. In the case of Gujarat, the

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1. The problem of village selection became more complex with the knowledge that most of the SITE villages could not meet the basic characteristics of a "little community" viz., small and homogenous population, all pervading self sufficiency and spending life from cradle to grave in one place. However, conceptually, a TV village can be considered as a "whole system" in which various parts are inter-related and inter-connected. (Foster 1969 ; Redfield 1955)

question of selection of a district did not arise because Kheda was the only district under the experiment.

In the case of the other six clusters, in order to provide a fair representation, it was argued that in three clusters, the villages should be selected from the districts having the largest number of SITE villages, and in the other three clusters, the villages had to be selected from the districts having the smallest number of SITE villages. Accordingly, in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa the districts of Hyderabad, Muzaffarpur and Sambalpur respectively were selected in the first category. Whereas in Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan the districts of Raichur, Bilaspur and Sawai Madhopur respectively were selected in the second category. Thus, it was possible to narrow the range of choice.

Criteria

For village selection five criteria were used. These were :

1) The population size of the village should range between 1,000–1,500 so that it could be efficiently observed by a single anthropologist.
2) The village should be multi-jati (consisting of more than one Hindu jati).
3) The village should be within a distance of 20 to 30 km from an urban centre, preferably the cluster headquarters or the maintenance sub-centre.
4) The villages should be, as far as possible, least affected by urban influence.
5) One of these villages should be predominantly tribal, and if possible with a battery operated television set.

Having selected the districts, all villages with a population of 1000–1500 were separated and then ploted on the map to see if they met the distance criteria. An exception on the distance criteria was made in the case of Sambalpur, Orissa cluster where 153 battery operated sets were deployed within a distance of 15 km from the maintenance sub-centres. Therefore, the distance criteria was relaxed in the case of Sambalpur. With the help of Census Hand Books, efforts were also made to find out the percentages of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe population in the villages to fulfil the second and fifth criteria.

After this initial tentative selection, the anthropologists went to the field with a list of nine to ten probable villages, from among which a village was to be selected after the first visit. An information sheet was prepared and was given to the anthropologists for data collection. This was essentially meant for actual verification of the data already available in the *District Census Hand Books* 1971 (refer Census 1971), and collected by the village selection team. The visit was also meant to check whether accommodation would be available and whether the villagers would be willing to accept an anthropologist for a year-and-a-half.

After the actual field visits, which took about a week, the anthropologists returned to Ahmedabad. Based on the data, discussions, and by the process of elimination, a village was selected in each cluster. An exception to this rule was Ismailpur village in Bihar, where the first visit indicated that none of the nine villages visited were suitable for study. The whole process was repeated for Bihar and two new villages were selected, between which a final selection was to be made after preliminary visits. These two villages fell slightly short of the population criteria, but it was assumed that the population must have increased since 1971 when the census was taken. Due to limited time at our disposal, and in consultation with the village

selection team, it was decided to select Ismailpur having a population of 966 according to 1971 census.

Once the villages were selected, anthropologists were discouraged from making any changes. Even then in Madhya Pradesh, a new village Sakarra, in the same district, fulfilling the selection criteria was selected, as the two anthropologists could not do field work in the selected village of Bundela (district Bilaspur, Madhya Pradesh). In the first village it was feared that TV would not be installed, as the transformer was stolen and the electric cables cut. Table 2.1 gives the details of the location of the villages along with village population and other demographic characteristics.

Later analysis indicated that not all the seven villages selected for the study had "fringe settlements" as thought earlier. In the case of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, the revenue village boundaries coincided with the TV village. Whereas in the case of Orissa and Bihar, the TV village consisted of more than one revenue village. In Orissa, part of the neighbouring revenue village Jhankarpali belongs to the Ghenupali TV village; and in Ismailpur, Bihar, parts of village Majhia form the TV village boundaries. In the case of Rajasthan, the village Khedli has 8 hamlets which have been considered as fringe villages, whereas the main settlement of the villages has been considered as the TV village.

It may be mentioned, that almost all the seven selected villages fulfilled the selection criteria suggested earlier, except the distance criteria, in the case of Ismailpur, Bihar (without a first visit the distance indicated from Muzaffarpur in the map was accepted, which is actually 37 km, see Table 2.1). Similarly, the census of Khedli village, Rajasthan was 1,357 according to the Census of India, 1971. But the census of the TV village, when enumerated in October, 1975, was 898. The same holds true in the case of Ghenupali (Orissa), where the village population was indicated as 1,189, according to the Census of India, 1971. In this case, part of Ghenupali and part of Jhankarpali revenue village constituted the TV village, having a population of 684 and, thus, these two villages have a lower population than initially planned for the study. It may be further mentioned that Ghenupali is the predominantly tribal village that has been studied.

QUALITY AND NATURE OF DATA

Training

Before discussing the actual method of data collection, it would be important to mention that attempts were made to collect uniform and comparable data from each of the villages under study. For this purpose, it was essential to give uniform training to each of the anthropologists who were going to do the field work. Therefore, pre-data collection training was organized. The training essentially aimed at reorienting the anthropologists to understand communication process in village India, the theoretical and methodological basis of the study and the understanding of the role of TV in a community viewing situation.

During the training, each concept that was supposed to be used in data collection was discussed and was operationally defined. This was essential as anthropologists were trained in various universities and there seemed to be no agreement on many of the concepts like caste or *jati*, joint and nuclear family. Areas and priorities were defined for the purpose of data collection in the various phases of study. Before sending the team to the field, they were sent to Delhi for a week-long training in NCERT to learn about child psychology and how to observe child behaviour in the

TABLE 2.1

Clusterwise Village Locations, Population and Distance from Urban Centre

Sl. No.	*Name of the Cluster*	*Name of the District*	*Name of Block and/or Taluka*	*Name of the village*	*Population of village*		*No. of Religions*	*No. of Jatis and Jati likes*	*Distance from Urban Centre in km*
					Census 1971	*Census* 1975*			
1.	Andhra Pradesh	Hyderabad	Hayatnagar Hyderabad East	Kawadpalley	1004	1089 (221)**	2	21	28
2.	Bihar	Muzaffarpur (Vaishali)	Goraul	Ismailpur	966	1016 (172)	2	8	37
3.	Karnataka	Raichur	Manvi	Pothnal	1365	1367 (246)	3	22	21
4.	Madhya Pradesh	Bilaspur	Takhatpur Bilaspur	Sakarra	1443	1506 (240)	2	23	23
5.	Orissa	Sambalpur	Jujomora Sambalpur	Ghenupali	1189	690 (173)	1@	16	21
6.	Rajasthan	Sawai-Madhopur	Bamanwas	Khedli	1353	898 (156)	3	16	21
7.	Gujarat	Kheda	Nadiad	Dadusar	1363	1482 (276)	3	22	22

* Taken by the Anthropologists

** The figures given in parenthesis indicates the total number of households

@ Scheduled Tribes Predominant

school. Only 2 out of the original 7, who completed the field work, were able to take advantage of the training as the others left the job before its completion.

After the Delhi training, the anthropologists went to the villages to set up their residence and to start field work.

The data collection field work was divided into 3 phases: (1) pre-SITE (2) during-SITE (3) post-SITE.

It was hoped that the process evaluative study (feed-back data collection) would be done during the SITE year, whereas pre-SITE observations would provide base-line data for the purpose of evaluation from post-SITE data. Within a single village, those who viewed TV were the ones who should be compared with those who did not view TV for the purposes of evaluating effects, and also for the purpose of comparing process of change among the viewers due to impact of TV and among non-viewers due to other external or internal factors.

Field Work

In the first week of March, field work started as per schedule in Kawadpalley (Andhra Pradesh), Ismailpur (Bihar), Pothnal (Karnataka), Bundela (Madhya Pradesh) and Ghenupali (Orissa). However, due to the non-availability of anthropologists, the field work in Gujarat and Rajasthan was delayed until July 1, 1975, and October 22, 1975, respectively.

In Khedli, the television and field work started more or less at the same time as TV was non-functional until October 2, 1975. In Dadusar, field work started a month prior to the date of commencement of SITE.

Teething troubles started within a few weeks of the field work. The anthropologist in Karnataka felt incapacitated and it became inevitable to replace him by July 15, 1975. In Orissa, within 10 days, it was found that the anthropologist felt that he could not live in the village due to lack of appropriate amenities and transport facilities, and so he was replaced in 2 weeks by another anthropologist. In Madhya Pradesh, the anthropologist suffered from serious stomach ailments and was forced to resign. He was replaced by another anthropologist who after shifting to Sakarra village absconded from the field and could not be traced until November. Hence no data could be collected in Sakarra village until February 22, 1976, because no one could be appointed till that day. These interruptions in field work are clearly reflected in the quality and quantum of data that have been described and analysed in this report.

In Orissa village, the second anthropologist left the job after about 8 months of field work in early January, 1976. He was replaced by another anthropologist who was doing field work in another SITE project. The anthropologists, working in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, were given two weeks training before they were sent to the field. In this way, nineteen months of continuous field work in Ismailpur and Kawadpalley was done, whereas in Pothnal and Dadusar field work was done for 15 months. In Khedli, field work was done for a period of 11½ months.

In Sakarra, field work was done for a period of eight-and-a-half months. In Ghenupali, the field work was conducted for a period of approximately 16 months, with an interruption in the months of January and February, 1976.

All field work was terminated in the first week of October, 1976, approximately about two months after the completion of SITE. During the entire field work, anthropologists came to Ahmedabad thrice for the purposes of review, discussion, and for the preliminary presentation of their data, which accounted for about five to six weeks of absence from the village.

Anthropologists in the Field

The anthropologists who were able to speak the local language of the villages under study, settled in the village in house available, which were mostly located near the TV centre, except in Kawadpalley and Pothnal, where the residence of these anthropologists was within the TV nuclear village. They maintained a modest living in most cases. They lived in rented rooms and except in Ghenupali, everyone lived in electrified houses as these villages were electrified. Two anthropologists, one in Khedli and the other in Dadusar, lived in the village with their families. In Khedli, the wife being an anthropologist too collected special data on the women and their communication behaviour. In Sakarra and in Kawadpalley, two female anthropologists stayed for a period of about four months, beginning from June, 1976, at the fag end of field work. They also collected separate data on the women and children of the respective villages. The female anthropologist from Kawadpalley visited Pothnal also, for a period of about two weeks, to collect comparable data (in two trips) between the two villages.

All these anthropologists introduced themselves as associated with television. However, they indicated that they had nothing to do with operation, maintenance and functioning of television, though they had come to study how people liked the TV programmes. This kind of introduction no doubt gave an image of an "officer" but gradually it faded as their interaction with the villagers became more intimate and they became more of researchers than officers. Anthropologists were introduced to the village by some important person like village headman, President of the village Panchayat (Council), or through some local government officials. In all the villages except Pothnal, anthropologists were initially given help by these leaders, as most of the government officials are entertained and assisted by leaders. In the village, leaders tried to influence the anthropologists. It seems that in every case village headmen tried to patronise the anthropologists, who could succeed in maintaining their independent identity by interacting with poor and rich, and lower and higher *jatis* belonging to various religious groups. In every village, the anthropologists were suspected initially, to be men from the government intelligence department.

After a few months of field work, anthropologists became part of the village and were treated as members of the village. They participated in village fairs and festivals, in happiness and sorrow. When they left the village, they were given the same kind of send off as was given to a villager going away from home permanently.

Generally speaking, anthropologists established a fairly good rapport with the villagers, though a few villagers were suspicious about their activities and could not be convinced as to why an educated person would live in the village for such a long period. The anthropologists mainly participated in TV viewing throughout the year, during the morning and evening transmissions, and focused their attention on TV and communication related questions. This does not mean that they ignored other aspects of village culture. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected by them through a selected sample of the village and from the key informants. Where male and female anthropologists worked together, the understanding of the village was almost complete, but where male anthropologists worked alone, the data on females were scanty.

Pre-SITE Data: Originally, it was decided to collect base line data before SITE. It was this rationale which led the anthropologists to start working in the first week of March, 1975. In the initial stages of the field work, everyone was asked to collect household census and to draw the map of the TV village. The household schedule was developed in the local language for each village separately, which included demographic data on the household—operationally defined as those persons living and eating together, who may or may not be related to each other. Household census schedule also included questions related to religion and jati affiliation, language, and mass media exposure.

Door-to door census was conducted just after the beginning of the field work, which helped anthropologists to familiarize themselves with the village and build rapport with the villagers. Simultaneously a notional map of the village was drawn plotting the settlement pattern of the village. Approximately, two to four weeks were needed to complete census and mapping.

In pre-SITE period, attempts were made to establish a good rapport with the villagers—experience indicated that the village leaders (elected and appointed)—acted as the bridge between the anthropologists and the villagers in the beginning, which gradually dwindled as the time passed. The anthropologists mainly concentrated their energy on collecting data on the existing channels of communication in the village. This included investigating various methods that were used for the purpose of transmitting religious messages through travelling musicians and saints, collective listening of religious and mythological hymns, incoming and outgoing postal mail, and a host of interpersonal channels of communication for the purposes of transmitting information among the relatives, friends, jati members, and gossip groups.

Before the commencement of SITE, the anthropologists attended a workshop, held at Ahmedabad in which anthropologists from various universities also participated. In the workshop it was decided to collect data on those items which were more susceptible to change, namely, traditional communication, interaction patterns and adoption behaviour in SITE instructional areas—agriculture, health, nutrition, family planning and national integration. The changes in kinship, religion and some economic aspects, such as, income, land holdings, and occupations were not expected to change within the short spell of one year and, hence, the collection of data on these items was given second priority. For this purpose, a broad outline of the areas in which data should be collected, was sent to anthropologists in the field.

During-SITE Data: By the time SITE started everywhere, except in Khedli, anthropologists were already living in the villages. Their major data collection activity centred around morning and evening TV viewing, observation of post-telecast discussions, and participation in the day-to-day life. The main aim was to discover how TV messages reached the non-television viewers in the villages. Questions asked during the investigation were—Who watched TV? What was the sitting pattern of the viewers in the community viewing situation, and how were changes, if any, taking place in the day-to-day life of the villagers as a consequence of TV viewing directly, indirectly, and/or incidentally.

A daily observation sheet was designed (see Appendix 2) to observe the changes in viewing and sitting patterns, audience size, and its composition. As the sitting pattern was, more or less, uniform during the morning transmission because of the class room viewing, a small quantum of data in the last two months of the transmission were collected.

Table 2.2 gives the details of the number of days, when the observations were made. In case of the evening programme, in Pothnal, the anthropologist collected this data on plain sheets, so it could not be coded for analysis, thus, observation sheets were available for only 31 days.

TABLE 2.2

Number of Days Observations were made on Morning and Evening Viewers

Sl. No.	*Name of the village*	*Morning*	*Evening*	*Total*
1.	Kawadpalley	49	137	186
2.	Ismailpur	10	83	93
3.	Dadusar	*	176	176
4.	Pothnal	16	32	48
5.	Sakarra	32	119	151
6.	Ghenupali	34	86	120
7.	Khedli	18	164	182

* No morning programme

After nine months of SITE exposure, in April 1976, supplementary quantitative data were collected from a sample of the adult male and female viewers of all seven villages. For this purpose, a slightly modified SITE Impact Survey (Adult) during-SITE schedule was used. The research design followed in the study is given in Table 2.3.

TABLE 2.3

Sampling Distribution by Sex and Viewer/Non-viewer per Village

Sex	*Viewers*	*Non-viewers*	*Total*
Male	30	30	60
Female	30	30	60
Total	60	60	120

For this purpose, the total village population above the age of 15 was divided into four categories as indicated in Table 2.3. From each category, 30 respondents were randomly selected for the survey, except in the case of Pothnal where 30 female viewers were not available. The data were collected between April–May, 1976. In the during-SITE phase, attempts were also made to go into the details of the process of message diffusion in the villages from the viewers to the non-viewers.

Science Teachers' Training: One of the highlights of SITE was the Multi-media Package Training programme for Science Teachers, in which TV was also used for the training, apart from radio and written material. For a period of 15 days, first in mid-October, 1975, and later in July, 1976, the training was imparted. An effort was made by the anthropologists to evaluate the training programme. The broad questions investigated were: the TV utilizations pattern during the training, the general observations of the training organization at the village level, and the trainees' opinions on the utility and usefulness of the training programme. This training programme was conducted in six clusters excluding Dadusar.

Anthropologists of these six clusters, observed and participated in one of the two training programmes. As the training programmes were similar in nature, some villages were not selected twice for the training. Table 2.4 gives the details of the location and period when the training was conducted.

TABLE 2.4

Science Teachers' Training Location and Period*

Sl. No.	*Name of the Village*	*Name of the Training Village*	*Period of Training*
1.	Kawadpalley	Kawadpalley	October 16-30, 1975
2.	Ismailpur	Ismailpur	October 16-30, 1975
3.	Pothnal	Hirekotnekal	July 17-31, 1976
4.	Sakarra	Sakarra	July 17-31, 1976
5.	Ghenupali	Santarpali	July 17-31, 1976
6.	Khedli	Piplai	July 17-31, 1976

* No training was conducted in Gujarat, hence no data from Dadusar.

In each village, the basic data was collected through participant observation and informal discussion with the trainee teachers, among whom a few were personally known to the anthropologists. Operation, coordination, and management aspects of the training were also studied in detail.

Post-SITE Data Collection: In post-SITE period, the routine of the anthropologists was modified as they changed their strategy of data collection. They were mostly involved in observing if there were any changes in the village after the termination of telecasts on July 31, 1976. They wanted to assess how viewers felt about the absence of TV and how they tried to readjust their evening activity schedule. A small structured schedule was used for data collection from a randomly selected sample. The anthropologists collected data from adult viewers of both sexes, children and the custodian.

Data from Dadusar were not collected as the telecasts were not terminated on July 31, 1976. Just three weeks before the termination of field work, the anthropologists collected the post-SITE survey data from the panel of the same respondents who were interviewed during-SITE.

The attrition is indicated in Table 2.5. It may be mentioned that out of 840 respondents, who were interviewed in during-SITE survey, only 744 were interviewed in post-SITE survey.

TABLE 2.5

Sample Attrition between During and Post-SITE Surveys by Villages*

Sl. No.	*Name of the Village*	*Total Respondents in T-1 (during Survey)*	*Total Respondents in T-2 (post Survey)*	*Loss of Data (T2–T1)*	*Attrition Percentage*
1.	Kawadpalley	119	104	15	12.6
2.	Ismailpur	120	112	8	6.7
3.	Pothnal	101	87	14	13.9
4.	Sakarra	120	114	6	5.0
5.	Ghenupali	120	109	11	9.2
6.	Khedli	120	118	2	1.7
7.	Dadusar	120	107	13	10.8
	Total	820	751	69	8.4

After the completion of post-SITE survey the anthropologists returned to Ahmedabad for data analysis and report writing.*

Special Data on Females : The specific data on females as stated earlier were collected in Khedli, Kawadpalley, Pothnal and Sakarra by female anthropologists.

The data collected by female anthropologists focused on child rearing practices, role of women in communication process at various levels in the village, and observations on change as a result of TV viewing among females. They also assisted in collecting survey data from females.

Operational Definitions

Prior to the field work, and during the field work, the most difficult part was, and continues to be, the definition of the various *emic* categories used for the purpose of description and analysis. The conceptual difficulty becomes more acute when the data from the seven villages have to be compared. To have conceptual clarity, operational definitions of each of the concepts have been presented and are followed throughout the report.

Village : One of the most puzzling questions is the definition of the village. As indicated earlier there are a number of definitions of the village. The term "village" has been used in this report

* As there is a large survey report on the impact of SITE on adults, the survey analysis of this study has not been presented in this report.

interchangeably with TV settlement and 'TV village'. Therefore, throughout this report the term village refers to 'TV village', unless defined otherwise.

Jati: The term *jati* is used to denote an endogamous, inter-marrying, extended and regional group. A similar concept also exists among non-Hindus. Therefore, the term 'jati-like' will refer to the similar non-Hindu groups.

Household: In emic term the 'family' is referred to as *'Ghar'* in Hindi and Gujarati. *Gharoro* in Oriya speaking areas, *Illu* in Telugu, and *Manetana* in Kannada. In this report the term 'household' has been used to denote *Ghar,* operationally defined as those persons living and eating together who may or may not be relatives.

Process of Communication: nl this study, the emphasis is on the understanding of the process of communication. According to Wallace (1970)

> Processes have in common the property that time, and often physical space too, is a dimension of the structure, and that the structure is divided into a sequence of steps or stages corresponding to the successive values on the time/space dimension. Each stage then can be considered as a single value on a dimension that corresponds precisely in number of values to the time/space dimension; but each of these values on the stage dimension can be decomposed into a complex structure whose matrix may be (but is not necessarily) unique to that stage.

In the communication context, the programmes shown on TV were seen by a limited number of viewers, who in turn went to the village and discussed what they had seen on TV with other non-viewers. The non-viewers, in turn, discussed with other non-viewers. In this case, three-step flow of communication is indicated, with each stage defined by persons who act as mediators between the information and the receivers of the information. Certain amount of information gets modified, changed or distorted before reaching the next person. It seems that the process structure contains three kinds of dimensions – time/space, a 'core matrix' – information that is shared by all stages, though, it may get transformed while moving from one stage to another stage. The third dimension is the 'peripheral matrix' –television viewer/non-viewer. 'The peripheral matrices are relevant only in some of the stage'.

Wallace (1970) feels that 'some simple structure can have only the first two stages.' In the present discussion, all the three dimensions will be considered and analysed while discussing the process of communication. In most cases, it will be implicit, but from time to time, it will be made explicit.

School Children: The term 'school children' refers to those who are between 5–12 years of age and who attend primary school, generally upto the 5th Grade.

Adult: The term 'adult', male and female, is operationally defined as all those who are of age 15 years and above at the time of census taking of the village.

Children : From time to time, data are categorised into two major age groups – children and adults. When the term children alone is used, it refers to all those who are 14 years of age and below.

Viewers : The term 'viewers' or 'frequent viewers' has been operationally defined as those who view TV more than four times a month.

Core Viewer : The term 'core viewer' is used for those adults who viewed programmes more than two thirds of time when the TV was operational in a month.

Unit of Analysis

The analysis has been done at two levels–household and village. While discussing a village most of the analysis focus around households, whereas when villages are compared the unit of comparison is the village.

Chapter Three

Profile of the Villages

Villages Represent Linguistic Regions

In the previous chapter, the methods of the evaluative study were described in detail. In this chapter, an attempt will be made to present a comparative profile of the seven villages.

The basic assumption in the study is that, there are multiple cultural, linguistic and historical traditions forming the spatial mosaic in Indian civilization. These are a port of the political system at the national level. Within India, each of these multiple traditions roughly cover an area equal to a linguistic region. The sum total of the multiple traditions which are interconnected, interlinked and interdependent, sometimes overlap the civilizational spatial mosaic. In the above sense the seven villages under study represent seven cultural and linguistic regions, each selected village having characteristics representative of its region.

Broadly speaking, the regions which these villages represent are Telangana (Kawadpalley), Bajjika (Ismailpur), Charautar (Dadusar), Kelagade (Pothnal), Chattisgarh (Sakarra), Sambalpur (Ghenupali) and Dhundari (Khedli).

The Location and Population of the Villages

The locations of the villages are described with reference to the state and district to which they belong, in order to provide an understanding of the spatial importance of their location. The analysis indicates that a village is essentially a socio-geographical spatial unit in the cultural regions. For convenience each village is described separately.

Kawadpalley : Kawadpalley is situated on the Deccan plateau in Hyderabad district Andhra Pradesh. It can be reached by travelling 20 km east of Hyderabad on the National Highway No. 9 and on an all weather kacha road for 3 km in the northern direction from the highway. Kawadpalley is surrounded by a number of villages situated within two to three kilometres in all the directions.

Ismailpur : Ismailpur is situated in Goraul block of Muzaffarpur district (now Vaishali district), Bihar. It is 37 km south of Muzaffarpur town. From Muzaffarpur to Goraul, one covers a distance of 29 km either by rail or by road. Ismailpur is 9 km southeast of Goraul, out of which 4 km is metalled road and remaining 5 km is kacha jeepable road which is difficult to cover during the rainy season. The nearest village is adjacent to Ismailpur, separated by a kacha lane.

Pothnal : Pothnal is situated on the Raichur–Hubli State Highway in Manvi *taluka* of Raichur district, Karnataka. It is 21 km from its nearest town Manvi and 70 km from its district headquarters, Raichur. Pothnal and its surrounding area fall within the northern region of Karnataka. Pothnal is centrally located amidst a cluster of villages. Hence, it serves as an important market village.

Sakarra : Sakarra is situated 23 km west of Bilaspur town, in Bilaspur district and *tehsil*, Madhya Pradesh. In order to reach the village, one has to travel 12 km from Bilaspur, on the Bilaspur-Raipur Highway and 11 km on the fair weather kacha road. The nearest village from Sakarra is within 3 km distance.

Ghenupali : Ghenupali is situated 15 km east of Sambalpur town, in Sambalpur *tehsil* and district, Orissa. Ghenupali is approachable by road, but one has to cover approximately 25 km to reach the village. The first 19 km is the metalled Sambalpur-Calcutta Highway. The remaining 6 km is a kacha fair weather road from the village Padiabahal. The nearest village from Ghenupali is separated by a kacha lane and there are a number of villages located within 2 km. Ghenupali is surrounded by forest covered hillocks and it is difficult to reach the village during the rainy season.

Khedli : Khedli is situated on the Dausa–Gangapur State Highway No. 2, in the western part of Sawai Madhopur district, Rajasthan. It is 120 km southeast of Jaipur, the State capital. Khedli can be reached from Gangapur situated 21 km east. A number of villages are located within two to three kilometres from Khedli and *dhanis* (hamlets) are even closer.

Dadusar : Dadusar is situated 22 km northeast of Nadiad town, Kheda district, Gujarat. The nearest small town from Dadusar is Mahudha, situated 3 km southwest of the village. One has to travel by road to reach Dadusar from Nadiad, of which the first 19 km is metalled road, whereas the remaining 3 km from Mahudha is a kacha fair weather road. Dadusar is surrounded by a series of villages within two to three kilometres.

All the villages under study have more than a hundred years of known history. After independence, each of these villages became part of their respective state and district administration. In that respect these villages have more than 30 years of common experiences in a democratic political system.

The Village Population

The population distribution based on the census taken by the anthropologists in the beginning of the fieldwork is given in Table 3.1. The table shows more or less equal sex ratio in the

TABLE 3.1

Population Distribution by Sex

Sl. No.	*Village*	*Total Households*	*Sex Ratio*		*Total Population*
			Male	*Female*	
1.	Kawadpalley	221	534	535	1089
2.	Ismailpur	172	509	507	1016
3.	Pothnal	246	672	695	1367
4.	Sakarra	240	762	744	1506
5.	Ghenupali	173	338	352	690
6.	Khedli	156	489	409	898
7.	Dadusar	276	799	684	1483
	Total	1484	4103	3926	8049

population except in case of Khedli and Dadusar where male population is relatively higher compared to female population. It may be mentioned that both these villages belong to northwest India. Ghenupali is having the lowest population whereas Sakarra indicates the highest village population. Household distribution also indicates a similar trend.

TABLE 3.2

Percentage Distribution according to Primary Occupation of Households by Village

Sl. No.	*Village name*	*Total No. of House-holds*	*Culti-vation*	*Labour*	*Business*	*Profes-sion & Employ-ment*	*Jati related Occupa-tion*	*No work*	*Total*
1.	Kawadpalley	221	41.6	26.7	6.3	7.2	14.5	3.6	100.00
2.	Ismailpur	172	50.0	27.3	8.1	8.1	5.8	0.6	100.00
3.	Pothnal	246	58.1	23.2	11.0	2.4	4.1	1.2	100.00
4.	Sakarra	240	62.1	19.2	2.5	8.3	6.3	1.7	100.00
5.	Ghenupali	173	53.2	26.6	2.9	7.5	5.8	4.0	100.00
6.	Khedli	156	53.8	32.7	7.1	1.3	3.8	1.3	100.00
7.	Dadusar	276	26.4	56.5	6.2	3.6	4.3	2.9	100.00
	Average	212	48.5	31.1	6.3	5.5	6.4	2.4	100.00

TABLE 3.3

Percentage Distribution according to Educational Index of the Households by Village*

Sl. No.	*Village name*	*Illiterate*	*Low Education*	*Medium Education*	*High Education*	*Total*
1.	Kawadpalley	35.3	50.3	13.1	1.4	14.9
2.	Ismailpur	45.9	35.5	14.6	4.1	11.6
3.	Pothnal	65.6	27.2	6.4	2.8	16.6
4.	Sakarra	28.3	45.8	18.8	7.0	16.2
5.	Ghenupali	50.9	38.1	9.2	1.8	11.7
6.	Khedli	59.6	30.8	5.7	3.8	10.5
7.	Dadusar	38.4	38.6	17.5	5.4	18.6
	Average	45.3	38.3	12.8	3.6	100

* Educational Index is a 'Summated Scale'. It was calculated by giving two points to literate head of the household and one point to other literate members of the household above 4 years age. The total score indicate the Educational Index. Low education includes the household having 1 to 3 points whereas Medium education includes between 4-6, and High education includes all those having 7 and more points.

In each village, majority of the houses are of similar architecture, in which the locally available material is used. In Khedli stone and mud wall houses and a few multistoreyed stone houses are common, whereas Ghenupali has a large number of thatched huts. In Pothnal, Sakarra and Kawadpalley mud wall houses are very common. In Ismailpur about one third of the houses are of brick, though in house construction the differences are not very marked. The house type in most cases does not reflect the comparative economic position of a villager : a stone house of a Khedli villager does not make the villager richer than the Sakarra villager with a mud walled house (see Table 3.4).

Within these houses live the village population of which more than three fourth belong to Hindu religion and the remaining to Islam and Christian religions (except Dadusar, where more than 50 per cent of the population are of Islam and Christian religions. See Table 3.5).

TABLE 3.4

Percentage Distribution of Households according to House Types by Village

Sl. No.	*Village name*	*Total No. of House-holds*	*Hut*	*Mud wall*	*Brick-wall stone roof*	*Multi-storey*	*Total*
1.	Kawadpalley	221	25.3	71.5	3.2	0.0	100.0
2.	Ismailpur	172	22.7	43.0	34.3	0.0	100.0
3.	Pothnal	246	13.8	84.1	1.6	0.4	100.0
4.	Sakarra	240	0.8	90.0	8.3	0.8	100.0
5.	Ghenupali	173	64.7	33.5	1.7	0.0	100.0
6.	Khedli	156	6.4	1.9	87.2	4.5	100.0
7.	Dadusar	276	7.2	75.0	14.1	3.6	100.0
	Average	212	18.4	62.2	18.1	1.3	100.0

TABLE 3.5

Distribution of Households according to Religion by Village

Sl. No.	*Village name*	*Total No. of House-holds*	*Hindu*	*Muslims*	*Chris-tian*	*Jain*	*Total*
1.	Kawadpalley	221	96.8	3.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
2.	Ismailpur	172	79.1	20.9	0.0	0.0	100.0
3.	Pothnal	246	91.5	6.9	1.6	0.0	100.0
4.	Sakarra	240	99.2	0.8	0.0	0.0	100.0
5.	Ghenupali	173	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
6.	Khedli	156	96.8	0.0	0.6	2.6	100.0
7.	Dadusar	276	45.7	42.0	12.3	0.0	100.0
	Average	212	85.1	12.1	2.6	0.2	100.0

The village population is divided into a number of hierarchical grades, *jatis* and *jati*-like groups. The highest number of jatis is 23, found in Sakarra, and the lowest number is eight in Ismailpur. In Pothnal and Dadusar there are 22 jatis or jati-like groups, followed by Kawadpalley having 21. In Ghenupali and Khedli there are 16 jati or jati-like groups. Analysis indicates that the larger the village population, greater is the diversity of religious and jati composition.

The Jati Hierarchy

The hierarchically graded jati and jati-like groups have been classified into five hierarchical categories. These are : highest, high, intermediate, lower and scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The classification is based on the cultural judgements of the villagers who keep 'highest' jatis of Brahman at the top and scheduled castes and scheduled tribes at the bottom. In between these two categories, other jatis and jati-like groups are classified into high, intermediate and lower based on the judgements of the villagers, as interpreted and understood by the anthropologists. There is a certain amount of arbitrariness on the part of anthropologists while developing the categories.

Table 3.6 gives the details of jati classification of each village. Names of each jati and jati-like group and its hierarchy are given in the Appendix 3. Table 3.6 shows that the highest jati has the smallest percentage of households, uniformly, in the seven villages. Except in Kawadpalley, Ismailpur and Pothnal about one third of the population in the remaining villages belong to scheduled caste and scheduled tribe. The jati classification indicates inter-village variations of jati hierarchy, which may also be reflecting the regional variations that exist in each region (refer Marriott 1960).

TABLE 3.6

Distribution of Households to Jati Categories by Village

Sl. No.	*Village name*	*Total House-hold*	*Highest Jati*	*High Jati*	*Inter-mediate Jati*	*Lower Jati*	*SC/ST* Jati*	*Total*
1.	Kawadpalley	221	1.4	41.6	37.1	9.0	10.9	100.0
2.	Ismailpur	172	0.0	47.7	12.8	36.6	2.9	100.0
3.	Pothnal	246	0.4	24.0	59.3	5.7	10.6	100.0
4.	Sakarra	240	6.3	17.1	30.0	18.3	28.3	100.0
5.	Ghenupali	173	1.2	49.7	6.4	2.9	39.9	100.0
6.	Khedli	156	3.9	12.2	51.9	0.0	32.0	100.0
7.	Dadusar	276	0.7	16.7	44.6	2.5	35.5	100.0
	Average	212	2.0	28.6	36.2	10.3	22.9	100.0

* Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Household : Majority of the villagers refer to the household in terms of its size rather than structure, except when educated villagers use the concept of household in legal terms in English or in the local languages. The distribution of households according to size is given in Table 3.7. The smallest household size of 4.0 has been observed in Ghenupali, this being predominantly a tribal village. Otherwise, in all other villages the average household size

varies between five to six persons. Table 3.7 indicates that more than 50 per cent (except in the case of Sakarra) households consist of two to five members, contrary to the general belief. There are less than ten per cent households consisting of more than ten members.

TABLE 3.7

Percentage Distribution according to Household Size by Village

Sl. No.	*Village name*	*Average House-hold Size*	*Single Member*	*2–5*	*6–9*	*10–13*	*14 & above*	*Total*
1.	Kawadpalley	4.9	6.8	52.8	38.0	1.9	0.5	100.0
2.	Ismailpur	5.9	4.7	51.8	30.7	8.7	4.1	100.0
3.	Pothnal	5.6	2.8	51.3	39.5	5.2	1.2	100.0
4.	Sakarra	6.3	5.4	38.6	40.1	12.6	3.3	100.0
5.	Ghenupali	4.0	12.7	62.4	22.0	2.9	0.0	100.0
6.	Khedli	5.8	5.1	48.1	34.7	9.5	2.6	100.0
7.	Dadusar	5.4	3.3	51.7	39.1	4.4	1.5	100.0
	Average	5.4	5.8	50.9	34.9	6.5	1.9	100.0

Settlement Pattern

The settlement of a village can reveal the patterns of inter and intra-jati relations and communication. There are underlying rules that govern as to who would live where ; who would become whose neighbour and in which way the village would expand. Generally, the "rule" of the settlement pattern that the (1) kin group must live together, (2) territorial exclusiveness of jati must be maintained, and (3) gradation among different jatis based on birth must be recognised leading to inequality in economic, intellectual, moral and religious spheres of one's life. As these villages are atleast a century old, the settlement patterns reflect a continuity maintaining the territorial exclusiveness of various jatis. Observations indicate that as far as possible a jati or jatis of the same category live together maintaining territorial exclusiveness.

The religious locales are situated near or around the highest and high jati houses and distinctively away from scheduled caste and scheduled tribe houses. The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes constitute about 20.0 per cent of the village population except in Ismailpur, where it is 3.0 per cent (see Table 3.6). Even then highest jati and high jati comprise only about 30 per cent of the population in the village.

Observations indicate that whenever there was an expansion of the village due to population increase, the new settlement followed the same pattern. But when space became a problem, among various jatis, the visible separation became invisible and seemed to have been broken down. But the separation broke only the territorial exclusiveness of a jati (and to some extent the kin group got scattered) as it was the case in Kawadpalley and Sakarra. But the gradation among different jatis and economic inequality continues to be maintained in all the villages.

SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD

The major source of livelihood in all the seven villages is agro-based. The major differentiation in the use of land or means of production are indicated in the agro-based activity like agriculture. Those who own land and till the soil, supervise and manage the tilling of the soil, or even share the other's land for this purpose claim themselves to be cultivators. The others work on the land as labourers in one form or the other and share the fruits of the land. Table 3.8 shows that little less than one third of the households own *no* land, highest being in Dadusar (52.5 per cent) and lowest in Pothnal (8.1 per cent). At the same time the very large land owners (more than 20 acres per household) are greater in Kawadpalley (10.9 per cent) and Pothnal (15.0 per cent). Though the complexity and the manipulative ability of the land owners do not permit any comparison among villages, these variations reflect the legacy of the past. It seems that unequal distribution of land resources is associated with the higher percentage of labourers in village like Dadusar.

Agriculture

Agriculture is a non-jati associated activity practised in all the villages. A minimum of two kinds of crops are grown in the villages under study (a) cash crops which are grown for selling outside the village in the open market, and (b) cereal crops, which are grown for household consumption and the sale of surplus, if any. These two kinds of crops are grown, both during *kharif* (monsoon) and *rabi* (winter) seasons.

Cash Crops : Cash crops are grown both as kharif (monsoon) and rabi (winter) crops. Some crops like sugarcane cover part of both the seasons and in that way it is an annual crop. However, on very few occasions both crops are grown as cash crops. Among the kharif cash crops groundnut is the most commonly grown crop in all villages except in the villages of the eastern region namely, Ismailpur, Ghenupali and Sakarra. In the rabi season tobacco, cotton, castor and *til* are grown in all the villages except Ghenupali and Sakarra.

Cereal Crops : Paddy is the most common cereal crop grown in both seasons in Ismailpur, Ghenupali and Sakarra and to a certain extent in Kawadpalley. *Bajra* and *Jowar* are grown as kharif crops in Kawadpalley, Khedli, Pothnal and Dadusar, whereas wheat is grown as rabi crop in Ismailpur, Khedli and Sakarra. A series of minor crops like gram and vegetables are also grown in these villages.

Methods of Cultivation

Agricultural operations are highly man power intensive and bullock energy dominates for tilling the soil. Tractors are known to cultivators and, sometimes, they are rented for the purposes of ploughing from nearby villages and towns. Only in Dadusar was a tractor owned by a large land holding cultivator. Other agricultural implements are indigenously made and are very similar to those which are used in the region.

Source of irrigation, other than rain water, is canal, tank, underground water and wells. Except in Ghenupali, varying number of diesel and electric pumps are installed mostly by large landowning cultivators. It varies from 20 in Kawadpalley to none in Ghenupali. Chemical fertilizers are fairly well known and are used in all the villages. Pesticides and insecticides are used in varying quantities in all the villages, though in Ghenupali it is the least used.

TABLE 3.8

Percentage Distribution of Households according to Land Ownership by Village

Sl. No.	*Village name*	*Total No. of House-holds*	*Land-less*	*Margi-nal*	*Small*	*Medium small*	*Medium*	*Large*	*Very Large*	*Total*
1.	Kawadpalley	221	38.5	5.0	8.1	6.8	17.2	13.6	10.9	100.0
2.	Ismailpur	172	28.5	20.3	29.7	9.9	9.9	1.7	0.0	100.0
3.	Pothnal	246	8.1	11.0	10.2	12.2	22.8	20.7	15.0	100.0
4.	Sakarra	240	24.6	9.6	25.0	11.7	15.8	8.8	4.6	100.0
5.	Ghenupali	173	32.9	9.8	35.8	11.6	7.5	1.7	0.6	100.0
6.	Khedli	156	16.0	2.6	42.3	10.9	17.9	7.1	3.2	100.0
7.	Dadusar	276	52.5	5.1	18.1	9.8	8.3	5.4	0.7	100.0
	Average	212	29.6	8.8	22.4	10.4	14.4	9.0	5.4	100.0

Agriculture is interwoven with religio-economic life of the villagers. A full agricultural season is linked with the series of ritual performances, from the first day of sowing to the harvesting of the new crop. Details of these will be presented in chapter 4 while discussing cultural communication.

Non-agricultural Jati Based Traditional Occupations

Majority of the occupations other than agriculture relate to the specialized skills required to support cultivators and others in the villages. On an average each village has two to three jatis fully engaged in specialized occupations like washing, hair cutting, carpentry, blacksmithy, oil pressing and shoe making. It may be mentioned that in general, villages that have a large population have a higher number of such jatis living in these villages. In this category we also observe that jati like Gaondla–the toddy tappers in Kawadpalley constituting little over thirty per cent of the village population. Awadhiya involve in tobacco selling. These are some of the examples of non-agricultural occupations.

Labourers

Almost one-third of the village households in all the seven villages earn their living as agricultural labourers. Majority of these labourers belong to lower and scheduled castes and scheduled tribes categories. There are various kinds of labourers involved in daily wage labour work to contractual annual labour work. Detailed analysis indicates that in almost all villages under this study bonded labourers were working with their masters for many years to return the loan (cash or crop) taken by the labourer or one of the household members in the past. Observation in Sakarra, Pothnal, Ghenupali and Ismailpur further indicates that these labourers are exploited and are given inhuman treatment by their masters. During the fieldwork certain amount of tension was also observed between labourers and cultivators on the issue of wages in Dadusar, Ismailpur and Khedli.

The Political System

In all the villages, *Panchayati raj* is prevalent and forms the formal political system of the village. The members of the panchayat are elected. This forms the smallest administrative functional unit at the village level. The panchayat has multi-functional roles to perform as prescribed by the panchayati raj rules.

The villages also have an informal political system which consists of the village elders and leaders who are normally Ex-zamindars and land owners belonging to the highest and high jati categories. They act as major communication links with the outside world and also within the village. They are the top negotiators and benefactors, conspirers and beholders of the village norms.

Observations indicate continuous conflict between the elected members that is the Panchayat members and the ex-zamindars that is those who enjoyed and continue to enjoy the prestigious position of village head. In cases where the panchayat head and ex–zamindar is the same, such conflicts are minimized though other conflicts like control over poor or labourers becomes stronger. At present, in each village the elected Panchayat President is a person other than the village head, except in Ghenupali where the Panchayat President is the wife of the village head. In each village, the village head is called by a specific local term like *Patee* (Kawadpalley), *Dhani* (Pothnal), *Mukhia* (Ismailpur), *Gauntia* (Ghenupali and Sakarra), and Zamindar (Khedli). In general, the Panchayat heads have developed interconnections with outside world, especially with the government officials who would come and visit the panchayat before meeting the villagers.

Factional politics is an essential feature of all villages. Discussion on the local politics forms an important element of day-to-day life. The village leaders—be they Panchayat heads or local village heads—are educated and have a relatively high economic status. Their urban contacts are also more than those of the other villagers, thus, showing that their communication patterns are also different from the rest of the villagers.

These leaders provide little or no information about village development activities. Such information is supplied by experts in the various fields of development. Most villages have a development block and centres for health, hygiene and family planning. The flow of information from such leaders and experts reach directly to the seekers of such information. This flow of information from the experts to the seekers is, however, affected by the interpersonal relationships between the two. In villages where a single jati outnumbers the others, (for example Awadhiya in Ismailpur) the experts are from within this jati. They will in turn disseminate information first to their closest kin and from here, it will disseminate to other villagers, thus showing that the particular jati gets information faster than the others.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to depict the profiles of the villages. Using this as a backdrop the patterns of cultural communication will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

Cultural Communication

So far, the analysis has centred around depicting the profiles of the villages. In this chapter we will analyse the patterns of cultural communication.

Rural communication is mostly verbal, area and situation specific, involving interpersonal communication. The norms and values of the village which draw their strength from the Indian civilization are interwoven and integrated with the pattern of message transmission from a source to a receiver. Communication being verbal and expressed through symbols becomes 'culture bound', and codification and decodification of the message is limited to those who are part of and share the culture. The tone, the style of presentation and the other symbolic gestures modulate, alter and distort the message. Individual memory, motivations and intentions become the prime factors in distortion, addition and subtraction of the message before it is transmitted from source to receiver. The use of gestures and voice modulations are utilized for modifying the message content without transmitting it. This type of communication allows, in most cases, immediate feedback between the source and the receiver. Cultural communication can be analysed at various levels. At the *first level*, the household is the smallest and most viable unit for meaningful communication. At the *second level*, most of the cultural communication is confined within a jati, especially if the population of a jati in a given village is large, for example, Awadhiya in Ismailpur or Gujar in Khedli. Due to a hierarchy of jatis, the boundaries of the jatis though fairly insulated, inter-jati communication occurs not only within a village, but cuts across boundaries of villages. The latter takes into account the *third level* at which cultural communication takes place. These three levels of communication, to a large extent, are recognized by the villagers in each of the villages under study. In that sense all three are *emic* categories. However, before analysing the process of cultural communication, it is considered essential to describe the linguistic profile. The linguistic profile of these villages shows a higher use of dialects than the standard language of the region.

Linguistic Profile

In Kawadpalley, Telugu is understood by everyone; but Telugu spoken, known as Telangana *bhasha* (language) with a prevalence of Urdu words, is the *lingua franca* of the village. In Ismailpur, Bajjika is the most commonly understood language in the village though Bhojpuri, a form of Hindi, is spoken in the region. In Dadusar, Gujarati is understood, but Charautari a dialect of Gujarati is spoken. In Pothnal, Kannada is understood, but *Kelagade* Kannada is the spoken language in the village. In Sakarra, all the villagers speak Chattisgarhi, a form of Hindi dialect, though there are those who would speak Hindi also. In Ghenupali, Sambalpuri is spoken which is a form of Oriya. In Khedli, Dhundari a dialect of Rajasthani is spoken though younger ones understand Hindi (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 indicates that very few can speak and understand languages other than their mother-tongue. Those who speak other languages mostly belong to Khedli which is a Hindi speaking area, and Kawadpalley where Hindustani is understood by one fifth of the households because of Hyderabad influence. Also a small portion of Pothnal population speak Telugu, being migrants from Andhra Pradesh. Having mapped out the general contextual categories of cultural communication, we will now go into the substantive analysis.

TABLE 4.1

Percentage of Households speaking Mother Tongue and other Languages by Village

Sl. No.	*Village name*	*Loca language/s*	*Total house-hold*	*Mother-tongue only*	*Knowing other languages*	*Total*
1.	Kawadpalley	Telangana Telugu	221	80.0	20.0	100.0
2.	Ismailpur	Bajjika Bhojpuri	172	100.0	0.0	100.0
3.	Dadusar	Charautari Gujarati	276	92.0	8.0	100.0
4.	Pothnal	Kelagade Kannada	246	90.0	9.3	100.0
5.	Sakarra	Chattisgarhi	240	91.7	8.3	100.0
6.	Ghenupali	Sambalpuri Oriya	173	90.2	9.8	100.0
7.	Khedli	Daundari	156	70.5	29.5	100.0
		Average	212	88.4	11.6	100.0

Household Communication

In general, the household communication focuses on those areas of village life which relate to economics, agriculture, marriage and socialization of children. In these areas both males and females communicate with each other separately. The economic status of the household is an independent variable reflected in occupation, jati and land holding, which effect the household communication. For the purpose of analysis, the households can be divided into three categories : (1) labour households, (2) small cultivator households, and (3) large cultivator and business households.

Labour Households

Majority of the labour households belong to the lower jati and scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Table 3.8 in the earlier chapter shows that in the labour households, little less than one third of the households own *no* land, highest being in Dadusar (52.5 per cent) and lowest in Pothnal (8.1 per cent). The labour households generally comprise husband, wife and their unmarried children, and in a few cases non-working, disabled or old kinsmen, ranging from three to five members. Able bodied males and females both work as labourers in the village and in the nearby villages. Even young children are expected to work and contribute towards household income. Children usually start working from the age of six. The members of the labour households of the same jati discuss the possible place of work for the day and their main topic of discussion is procurement of food or payment of loans, a fact attributed to their poverty.

The labour household planning does not go beyond a couple of days. They cannot make long term plans either for themselves or for their children. It was also observed that inspite of days of hard work, members of such a household sleep without meals, especially in the lean agricultural periods. Therefore, much of their conversation centres around economic, psychological and sexual exploitation. The "rich" in the village continue to have the "attached" Harijan households for cleaning the cattle sheds, for doing agricultural work and also for sexual "enjoyment". The Harijans do not object to extra work but if denied labour work they express their strong disapproval.

There seems to be equality between the sexes in terms of sharing household problems and in decision making. The females in these households play decisive roles to the extent of ordering and cajoling the males. The major reason for this equality is that the women play a dual role of wife and "bread earner". Although the labour household members try to maintain the "prescriptive" behaviour, under the load of poverty, it gets shattered and broken.

Small Cultivator Household

The small cultivator households are those who are having less than three acres of land in their possession. They live at a subsistence level of economy and their household sizes vary between five to nine members. In terms of the number of households, the small cultivators' household comprises for example 83 or 33.4 per cent of Pothnal ; 46.9 per cent in Khedli. These households mainly belong to intermediate and high jatis.

The males and females both work in their own agricultural fields but females do not work in other's fields. However, in those households which own less than one acre of land both male and female work in other's fields. This is especially so during lean agricultural periods. Children of these households participate in the agricultural activities but do not contribute income to the household. The focus of the discussions of the members of the small cultivator households centres around agriculture, food, marriage and other activities related to their day-to-day life and finding work during lean periods. They also discuss about weather, crops, procurement of seeds, oxen and plough, visits of relatives, marriages of their children, birth and death and constantly complain about their miserable life and increasing difficulties of survival. They also discuss about the village activities of the village leader related to local politics, and agriculture. They like to plan for one agricultural season and also make visits to relatives, and fairs and festivals. However, conversation towards future orientation in life is not a part of their style of life.

Members of the small cultivator households work extremely hard on their land and sometimes even put disproportional amount of manpower on a smaller patch of land. Their preoccupation with the problems of agriculture and household are the focal theme of their day-to-day discussions. In general, the small cultivators household like to maintain the prescriptive norms and values of the village. There seems to be inequality between the sexes in terms of sharing the household problems and decision making. Females play subservient roles and males enjoy superior normative position and privileges as patriarchs of the household. In this way most of the prescriptive behaviour is maintained in these households.

The position of other households belonging of jatis associated with occupations like carpentry are very close to what has been described for a small cultivator household. They reflect a similar pattern of household communication.

Large Cultivator and Business Households

The large cultivator households consist of those who own more than six acres of land and cultivate their land with the assistance of labourers. They are involved in money lending and other trade like buying local crops and selling in the nearby markets. These households are generally the ones who have a surplus cereal crop. Males take supervisory and managerial roles and their females confine themselves at home. The young children lead a carefree life and are provided with a few comforts of life. There seems to be a clear-cut distinction between male and female activities. The male activities centre around income, politics at national, state and local levels, labour management, loan collection, market prices, hospitality, relatives, government

officials including developmental agents, new agricultural innovations, gossips, scheming and planning how to control, acquire and take possession of others land, property and women. They also relate their past experiences like urban visits to other members of the village in order to show off their power (economic, political and ritual) and at times to spread the information to other members of the village. The females in these households focus their attention on discussions relating to children, gossip, food, rituals and festivals. Plans are made for visitations, marriage, children and acquisition of new ornaments; gossiping and scheming against each other and among household relatives also takes place. In most of these cases showing off material possession becomes the preoccupation of both males and females. Dual social norms operate in the village. A pattern of norms are maintained at the household level and for persons belonging to the same household type, and the other for the members of small cultivator and labour households.

There seems to be clear-cut separation and inequality between the sexes relating to household problems and decision making, although females try to take a upper hand in household affairs by indirect and coercive means. The males enjoy a superior position compared to the females. Clear hierarchies are maintained based on age, sex and individual capabilities. The prescriptive behaviour of individuals based on age and sex is strictly maintained.

Another conceptual frame work in which the cultural communication of the village can be analysed relates to age sets in which the total village population could be categorized by age hierarchies, regardless of one's socio-economic, religious and jati position. Certain patterns in communication are found. These could be broadly classified as (1) young age group, (2) adult age group and (3) elder age group. Essentially for all the age groups the data for males are more readily available compared to females.

Young

In the biological sense this phase ends from 15 to 16 years of age for males and around 14 years of age for females. Essentially it ends when a male starts showing signs of manhood and females pass through puberty. The young of the labour households start participating in economic activities even at the age of 10 years, whereas the small cultivator's young children are expected to help in agricultural activities but take no economic responsibilities. The children of the large cultivator and business households are different in this regard, as they lead a carefree life and are provided with a few luxuries of life. Sexual disparity is least maintained in the labour households, whereas in the large households they lives in a separate world. The parent-child relationship is quite egalitarian in the first two categories, whereas it is one of subservience in the last category.

Adults

The phase of adulthood begins just after the young age is over and continues till the person gives-up active participation in the occupational and household activities depending upon the individual's position in the household. Almost all the adults work for their livelihood. They are also ready for marriage. The adults belonging to large cultivator and small cultivator households enjoy higher socio-economic status and political power. Generally, all the information in terms of order, instructions and polite suggestions flow from the adult to the younger people.

Elders

It is that phase of life in which the members of the large cultivator and business households enjoy power and authority over the younger members of the household. They represent the household in the wider world of the village and simultaneously they prepare to transfer the power to the younger

members. The flow of communication is generally from the elder to the younger in these households. In labour households and in those households where land ownership is below an acre the elders are considered a burden, especially if they are incapable of working and earning their living. Sexual disparity is low in this category. Though prescriptive norms demand taking care of the old, their poverty does not permit this to happen and the old live on the mercy of the adults. The patterns of communication and interaction are asymmetrical. The communication boundaries are separately maintained by males and groups. The communication boundaries are not so well maintained between males and females in the case of small cultivators and it is more so in the case of labourer households.

Jati Level Communication

The analysis so far gives a micro-level understanding of communication patterns and processes in the village. The jati level communication and village level communication essentially reflect an expanded version of these basic processes and patterns.

The common characteristics which are observed in this expanded version relate to (a) Socio-religious celebrations and other related rituals, (b) Economic interactions due to occupational homogeneity, and (c) Jati communication pertaining to a large spatial area in which the jati is spread through villages.

At the first two levels the communication is confined within the village boundary though it has extensions beyond the village, whereas at the latter level it enhances its area of interaction across the boundaries of the village.

Generally speaking, higher the numerical number of a given jati in a village lower is the communication with the neighbouring villages. Awadhiya jati who constitute about 55 per cent of the village of Ismailpur, though living in close proximity with other villages interact very little with them. This characteristic feature seems to be very common in the other villages under study.

The villagers belonging to the five major jati categories were observed as having communication through social interaction by participating in birth, death, marriage and socio-religious occasions. Ismailpur, Khedli, Dadusar and Sakarra follow this pattern. However, in Kawadpalley, Pothnal and Ghenupali this is true to a lesser extent. Households having similar socio-economic positions seem to treat each other as equals for the purposes of inviting each other and for sharing the joyful and sad moments of life. However, these interactions remain confined to participation in terms of exchange of gifts and feasting. Khedli provides a good illustration of interaction of the above kind. Among the highest and high jatis which consist of Brahmin households. Sojoji Vaishnava, Khandelwal Mahajan and Jain households interact with each other in ritual performances and extend invitations to each other. Further, they share each others' food which is an indicator of close ritual and social ties. Observations indicate that women of these households visit the temple together, and the men enquire about each others' welfare and share their familial and occupational problems which they would not normally do with other jati members.

This pattern is comparatively less pronounced amongst intermediate jatis and almost non-existant amongst scheduled caste and tribes. This may be reflective of their economic state of affair or the way they perceive and express their ritual and jati position. The analysis presented here is to some extent representative of the inter-jati communication within the village.

Jati based occupational heterogeneity varies in the seven villages under study. As indicated in chapter 3 villages like Kawadpalley, Pothnal, Sakarra and Dadusar have on an average more than twenty two jatis living in these villages, whereas Ismailpur, Ghenupali and Khedli have no more than sixteen jatis.

In the first category of villages the occupational interdependence for services within the village is fairly high in comparison to the latter set of villages thereby necessitating frequent interaction with jatis outside the village involved in specialized occupations. Looking at these interrelations in communication perspective one finds an asymmetrical flow of information from highest and high jatis to the jatis involved in specialized occupations, for example Carpenters, Blacksmiths and Washerman. The exchange of information between them centres around the need for goods and services. Observations indicate that in all the seven villages households owning a larger size of land enjoy privileges and are shown respect by the lower jati members.

Within each jati occupational training is a part of the overall socialization process. The child learn the traditional occupation of the jati, for example Carpentry, Masonary, Smithery, Gold Smithery or even business and learning of ritual performances. The information in each of these cases is transmitted to the child not by verbal training or specific instructions but by demonstration and participation. The latter starts as soon as the child is capable of playing with tools and implements.

Increased jati communication in larger spatial areas has been observed due to rise of jati associations amongst jatis of six villages except Ghenupali. It has given a new form for exchange of ideas among the jati members at a broader level such as district and state. Observations made in Khedli on Gujar Samaj (Jati association) show increased communication amongst jati members and use of printed media to remain in touch with the jati members apart from holding annual meetings and discussions.

The jati level is one of the more specific areas in which the important information exchange related to personalized human experiences like marriage, birth and death takes place. It is essentially an inter-household communication on a network of households not necessarily living together, but related to each other either by marriage or by blood. As the jatis are spread not only within the village but across villages, the communication network covers a larger spatial area. Majority of the communications are specified and verbalized either through messenger or through written communications in forms of invitations. Credibility is higher for personalized communication than when it is only written communication. Jatis where the literacy percentage is higher have taken more to written communications but even then verbal communication on specific occasions is valued.

A case study exemplifying this process can be observed in Pothnal.

The Village Level Communication

The village level communication essentially cuts across household and jati level communication and relates more to the common information either disseminated to the total village or through an exchange of information amongst the villagers. There are very few issues which involve the total village in an exchange of information. However when they do, the information is spread through a village messenger who beats the drums and informs all the members. This information reaches the rich landowners first and then goes to the lower jati areas. It also spreads in the village from a number of 'information centres'. These information centres have been found in each of the seven villages under study in forms of assigned places like temple door steps and compounds, under old shady trees, in the houses of headmen and tea and grocery shops. There is a regular participa-

tion of the individuals who gather at these centres and exchange village news of varied kinds. In these gatherings village gossips, agricultural activities, market rates, national and local politics are discussed. In these discussions a few individuals belonging to the higher jati and elderly persons do most of the talking while the majority constituting lower jati and younger people listen. However, the above patterns differ in groups such as card players and Bhajan Mandalis and especially so if the youth are participating in these groups. In that case part of discussion centres around films, new songs and their affairs be it sexual, political or familial and to a small extent agricultural matters.

The shops are another venue through which village news is exchanged. Here the shopkeepers are the main source of information. To a large extent these shopkeepers provide information about outside happenings relevant to the villagers, for example news about market prices of grain, cotton and other cash crops. It would be interesting to trace out how in actuality any information for the total village is disseminated, and the process underlying this dissemination which is common in the seven villages under study. Pothnal offers a good illustration of this process.

The *Dhani* who is the headman by tradition is a powerful economic and political figure. The majority of all developmental agents, government officials, ritual specialists as well as strangers approach the Dhani for disseminating any information of common interest. If the Dhani himself would be interested in sending any messages related to fairs and festivals, or arrival of government officials, he first summons the drum beater or village messenger and tells him to announce reaching the specific information. If the message is urgent it is announced immediately but in the case of fairs and festivals it is announced a few days earlier. The content of the announcement is provided by the Dhani and in turn announced by the messenger, who follows a fixed route essentially from Dhani's house to upper jati localities and at the end reaching the message to the scheduled castes and tribes. However, the settlement pattern also influences the matter of who will get the message first. These messages are repeated and the drum beaters very presence indicates some news.

The uncertainty in village life in terms of crop production, weather conditions and diseases make such information by the way of forecast welcome in the village. On an average four to five such 'specialists' especially 'religious specialists' are found to be visiting the villages frequently. Such information through verbal communication cutting across jati and occupational barriers spread to the entire village. It may be mentioned that persons not having access to such information come forward and enquire from many individuals until they get the content of the information. This enquiry about such information is common and can be observed on many occasions.

In this chapter we have analysed the patterns of cultural communication. The chapter that follows describes the developmental communication in these villages.

Chapter Five

Developmental Communication

So far, we have discussed the cultural communication, essentially as it exists in the villages. Such a process of communication is selfsustaining, and necessary for the maintenance and survival of rural culture. However, there are other systems of communication which are external to the village milieu and have been introduced to accelerate desired changes for increasing agricultural productivity, to improve health, to increase percapita income, to bring about a sense of equality to remove superstition and poverty. The latter encompasses what is generally referred to as 'development'. The media and methods used for achieving this development are referred to as 'developmental communication'. Before we evaluate the role of TV and its impact on development, we must take into account how mass media, other than the TV, and developmental agencies have contributed to accelerate the process of development in the villages under study.

MASS MEDIA

The most popular mass media utilized at varying degree in these villages is radio. Table 5.1 indicates percentage distribution of radio ownership according to household. The smallest number

TABLE 5.1

Percentage Distribution of Households possessing Radio or Transistor, subscribing Newspaper and having Cinema going members

Sl. No.	*Village*	*Total Household-holds*	*% of radio owning Household-holds*	*% of newspaper subscribing Households*	*% of cinema going members' Household-holds*
1.	Kawadpalley	221	15.8	2.3	73.3
2.	Ismailpur	172	5.2	0.0	11.0
3.	Pothnal	246	8.9	1.6	30.1
4.	Sakarra	240	12.9	10.0	13.8
5.	Ghenupali	173	3.5	5.8	10.4
6.	Khedli	156	3.2	0.0	17.3
7.	Dadusar	276	12.7	4.7	31.5
	Average	212	9.6	3.8	28.3

of radios were available in Khedli, which was only 5; while highest number of radios were found in Kawadpalley—35. It seems that these variations indicate the general prosperity of the village and also its urban contact. Kawadpalley is having very high urban contact and fairly high cash earnings compared to Ghenupali, Khedli and Ismailpur. In these villages, *Vividhbharati*—a popular commercial programme of All India Radio, or Radio Ceylon which broadcasts film songs

are the most commonly tuned radio stations. News, programmes related to agriculture and other developmental messages receive second priority. Males listen to the radio more than females. It would be interesting to point out that on an average one-third of the radios could not be operated due to technical defects, and about 10 per cent due to reasons like non-availability of battery and owner's disinterest. Those who listen to the radio with interest, belong to non-agricultural households like businessmen, school teachers and villagers having occupations like toddy tapping. This reduced the number of listeners who could use developmental information. Except in Sakarra, where the household educational index is the highest, among other six villages newspaper and magazines are received in a meagre quantity. No one in Khedli and Ismailpur subscribes to newspapers or magazines. Even in Sakarra a newspaper or magazine is received on an average by 24 households. Low literacy rate apart from poverty are among the major factors in all the villages for having few subscribers.

Kawadpalley is the only village where almost 3 households out of 4 have seen movies; the percentages of movie goers is fairly low in all other villages. The profile that emerges is that the majority of the villagers, before the arrival of TV, had a relatively low level of mass-media exposure, especially to printed media. Even radio remained a medium of entertainment rather than development. Thus, contribution of mass-media for development could not be utilized to any appreciable extent by the villagers.

DEVELOPMENTAL AGENCIES

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Each of the seven villages belongs to a larger developmental unit like a block. Majority of the developmental activities related to agriculture reach the village through the village level worker, *gramsevak*, village development officer or agricultural assistant, and extension workers. Observations indicate that the village level workers visited the village on an average once a month while living in other villages.

Majority of the communication between cultivators and village level workers and higher officials are verbal, interpersonal and highly selective. The jati-interpersonal relations, verbal skill and accessability of the village level worker play a major role in deciding the credibility of the message given. His role, as perceived by the villagers, is to provide information on high yielding varieties of seeds, assist in getting loans, and "he works for the rich landlords and influential persons of the village." An exception to this was the agriculture extension workers in Khedli who were specially transferred during SITE to help cultivators to learn through TV. An interesting feature observed in this context was that village level workers, though not formally assigned to a village, were helpful to their relatives and friends in providing "inside stories of the block offices" for getting loans and other facilities.

Dadusar is the only village where AMUL has provided regular artificial insemination facilities, visits of a veterinary doctor and medical check up of the animals. In the other six villages these facilities are not existing within 8 to 12 km from the village. At block headquarters, such facilities are however available and can be availed by personal contact and influence. Information about animal husbandry is picked up by the villagers when they visit fairs, urban centres or when they go for the treatment of the animal in the veterinary centres or "private treatment" by the government doctors.

Health

Medical facilities of one kind or other are available in all the seven villages. The extent of their utilization, availability of medical personnel and medicines vary in these seven villages. Preventive medical facilities are provided by malaria worker, vaccinator and auxiliary nurses or midwives.

Except in Kawadpalley, primary health or sub-health centres are found in these villages. Availability of curative facilities seem better through private practice which is commonly followed in these villages. Availability of qualified doctors on regular basis is uncommon any where, though they visit the villages from nearby places on receiving good payments from those who can afford their services. Kawadpalley being close to Hyderabad utilizes the hospital facilities there fairly extensively. So is the case with Pothnal, where the primary health centre having two doctors is extensively used by the villagers.

In all these villages, majority of the communication on health and medical facilities are informal and interpersonal. The socio-economic and political position of a villager determines the relationship and the communication pattern with the health personnel. Small gratifications in terms of gifts are commonly offered and received for getting medical benefits. Midwives who help in delivering the babies provide information related to the health of the mother and child and other care.

Family Planning

Family planning has been considered as a part of medical facility. All the villages under study belong to a part of family planning 'circle' in which auxiliary nurses, family planning workers and health visitors are expected to make regular visits, and provide information related to various methods of family planning and also distribute contraceptive devices. Observations indicate that family planning workers specially the female workers are taken jocularly. They are even called by derogatory names. In three of the seven villages ANMs have been living in the villages; though the total time spent in each village is equal, their presence seem to have increased discussion and exchange of ideas on family planning.

Education

Educational facilities for children for the first three years (Ismailpur) and high school (Sakarra) are available in these villages. Each of these schools follows the local language as a medium of instruction, even though books are available in the standard languages. In Khedli Dhundari, in Ismailpur Bijjika, in Sakarra Chattisgarhi are used, although in all the three areas the books are printed in Hindi. Majority of the schools have non-resident teachers who are available in five of the seven villages. It should be remembered that one of the assumed criteria for the selection of SITE villages was the availability of a primary school. These schools have attracted a small population of students from nearby villages.

The pedagogic approach relys heavily on repetition and memorisation. As regards the lower classes, students of two classes sit together. Very little discussion on other topics is brought out apart from the syllabus. Vertical-communication is maintained in which information flows from teacher to students. Mid-day meal programme has been running in Kawadpalley, Ghenupali and Pothnal. Adult education programmes, especially functional education programmes, have been also observed. However, very little are known about the attendance and functioning of these evening schools.

Other Developmental Activities

In all the seven villages, financial institutions and cooperatives (agricultural and non-agricultural) exist. The financial institutions include cooperative banks providing loans to cultivators of various categories. In Kawadpalley Land Mortgage Bank has been actively providing information for taking loans for agricultural purposes, under Small Farmer's Development Agency. The same is the case with Sakarra where Central Cooperative Bank, Bilaspur has a resident *Samiti Sevak* (cooperative worker), who provides information about agricultural loans and assists in getting loans. In Pothnal, the secretary of Cooperative Credit Society provides information about loans from the Society as well as from State Bank of Hyderabad. A similar role is played by *Sahakari Seva Samiti* in Dadusar, Multipurpose Cooperative Society in Ismallpur and Credit Society in Ghenupali. The exception to this is Khedli where no such active involvement of financial institutions is reported.

Observations indicate that information related to loans and other agricultural activities are controlled by politically important persons in the seven villages. Almost all information is spread through interpersonal channels of communication and that too through a few selected members. Individual village studies have indicated that these institutions are manipulated and are controlled for the benefit of large cultivators and business households.

The model of developmental communication that emerges from the analysis is shown in Figure 5.1.

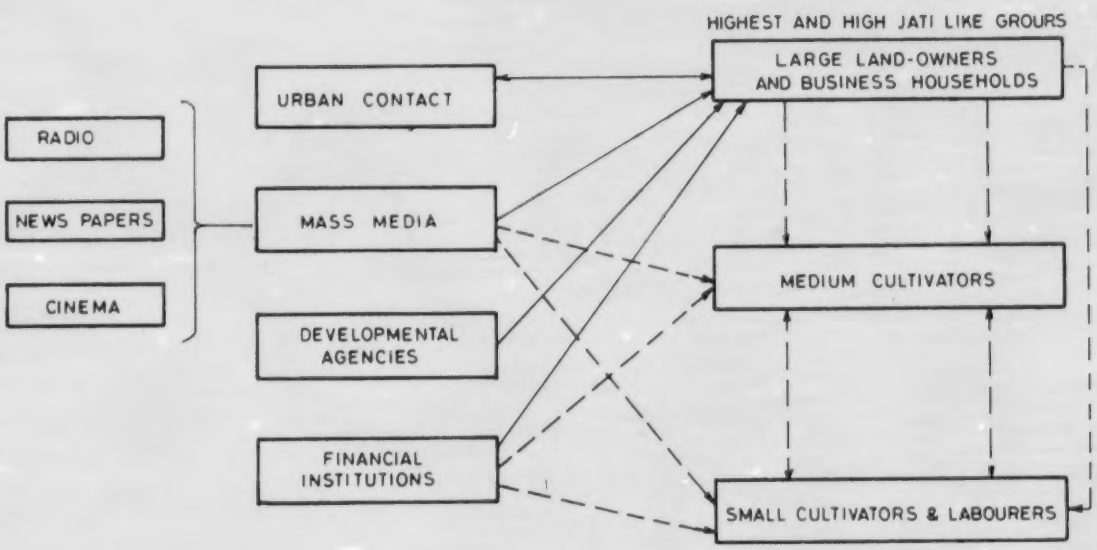


Figure 5.1: Flow of information in developmental communication

In the model the full line arrows indicate direct information transfer whereas dotted lines indicate delayed and second hand information.

The model shows that most of the developmental information through mass-media and other developmental agencies reach first to the highest and high jatis who also belong to large cultivators and business households. Only the secondary information reach the rest of the villagers after certain delay. At the sametime, there seems to be more interaction and exchange of information among large cultivators and business households than among the small cultivators and labour households. In this respect the mass-media and developmental agencies cater to a very small faction of the village population, for example the village level worker in many ways remains a large cultivators' service instead of helping the whole village.

Having discussed the cultural and developmental communication, the chapter that follows will analyse the role and impact of TV during the one year of Satellite Instructional Television Experiment.

Chapter Six

Television comes to the Village

After discussing in detail the patterns of cultural communication that existed prior to the arrival of TV, it is necessary to take into account the various external variables influencing TV viewing of the villagers.

"There is many a slip between the cup and the lip." This expression summarizes the way external variables affected TV viewing, when TV was installed and available for viewing.

Initial opinion about TV

Almost a year before the arrival of TV, village selection teams started visiting these villages. Very soon SITE along with the antenna arrived in these villages. On the first visit of the team, enquiries were made by questioning a few school teachers. Sometimes village headman and other prominent persons asked about this new "government scheme". The village selection teams took the role of public relations and explained SITE as best as they could. The most difficult part of the explanation was about TV and what wonders it could do. Generally speaking two major explanations were given. One was that TV was like radio but one could see the picture of the announcer or singer while listening to radio. The other was that TV was like a cinema having a very small screen. In few cases, school teachers or the educated ones indicated that they had seen TV in some exhibition or had seen it in Delhi. One must conclude that the visit of the village selection team, though very insignificant, left many villagers wondering as to what was this new 'scheme'. Many rejected outright the idea of getting TV in a year's time, because in their opinion government schemes took many years to get implemented. Many felt that the scheme would not get started as was common for most of the government schemes.

When the second time the SITE-team contacted school teachers for getting TV installed, a real curiosity amongst the villagers was observed. More than hundred of the onlookers watched the installation of the antenna. The ten feet chicken-mesh antenna instantly became the symbol of TV and the arrival of the new era just to begin in these villages.

From this point onwards non-SITE villagers started referring these villages as village with an 'umbrella'. The villagers themselves referred to the antenna by the names observed essentially from its shape, size and material. For few it resembled an umbrella, for others it was a metal net.

The installation of the antenna also sparked discussions about its utility and question of priority. Men and women, specially women, questioned as to "why government was not giving food grains to them" instead a TV was going to be installed in the village. Their argument was that without food what were they going to get from 'cinema.' Few others thought that TV was being installed for propaganda purposes. However, literate ones felt that some good was being done by the government. They and other youngsters in the villages started showing their interest in TV and enquired about the date of commencement of telecast, timings and type of programmes to be shown on TV. Still there were many who were skeptical whether TV would ever come to these villages.

Another wave of excitement began when the SITE-team started doing system check out and actual programmes were seen in these villages. Now onwards the villagers were more or less certain that TV would come sooner or later. By this time the vague concept of TV had taken a concrete shape and was referred to as *Tamasha mooku* (silent) cinema, and *saleema* (cinema). To villagers, TV was meant for recreation and some information.

Location of TV-centre

The settlement pattern of the village indicated that territorial exclusiveness of various jatis based on gradation, physically separated one jati from another. Pattern of village communication reflected number of autonomous communicational boundaries determined by one's occupation, income, and jati and religious affiliation. Therefore, it was safe to assume that the location of the TV-centre would influence as to who would come to view TV and which locality of the village would have advantage and access to TV more than others. Further, the physical structure in which TV was to be housed would also determine who would have *de facto* control on TV. To provide equal access to TV, in all the seven villages, it was installed in "public buildings". In Ghenupali, Sakarra and Khedli television sets were installed in schools. In Kawadpalley, it was installed in Community Hall constructed for women. In Ismailpur it was located in Panchayat Ghar, while in Dadusar it was housed in Milk Cooperative Society building. In Pothnal TV was located in cooperative society.

The location of TV-centres varied in each of the seven villages, providing interesting insights as to how location of TV influenced the viewing. In Kawadpalley the TV-centre was located in *Harijanwada* (the untouchable ward), thereby restricting high and highest jati from viewing TV, especially those who lived at a distance of more than 200 metres from the TV-centre. In Ismailpur the TV-centre was located slightly away from the village habitation, thereby keeping the TV-centre away from the area-specific and jati-specific influences. In Pothnal the TV-centre was located half km away from the village, thereby making the distance an inhibiting factor in TV viewing. In Sakarra TV was located within the village though in one corner. In Ghenupali also TV was located in one corner attracting the viewers from the neighbouring village too. In Khedli TV was more or less centrally located in the higher jati ward. In Dadusar the TV-centre was centrally located providing equal opportunity to all the villagers for viewing TV.

In general the distance was inversely related to viewer's attendance. It was observed that those who lived within 300 metres of TV-centre came to view TV more frequently and in larger numbers than those who lived beyond this distance regardless of their jati.

First day of TV

The TV was ushered in village life with pomp and show. In four out of seven villages technical failure did not permit viewers to enjoy the inaugural day fully. In Khedli the antenna was broken, in Ghenupali and Pothnal the video failed, while in Kawadpalley audio failed after two hours of transmission. In Ismailpur rain created havoc leading to near stampede in the Panchayat Ghar. In Sakarra and Dadusar the viewers were able to enjoy the first day of TV without disruption.

Inspite of technical difficulties and bad weather, the enthusiasm of viewers kept them waiting at the TV-centre even when there was no sound or picture. In each of the villages men, women and children started gathering at the TV-centre much before the transmission time. In Ismailpur villagers started gathering almost three hours before scheduled time. Every one was anxious to see 'cinema' in the box. Majority of them were going to see a moving picture on the screen for the first time.

In each of these villages except Khedli, television was given a warm reception and the TV-centres wore festive looks and various kinds of rituals were performed to mark the arrival of TV. Coconuts were broken, drums were beaten, bugles were played, speeches were delivered and earthern lamps were lit in keeping with the village tradition.

The Table 6.1 gives the first day approximate audience size and the village population. On the first day, the audience consisted of village viewers and outsiders. In Pothnal and Kawadpalley outside audience seemed to be meagre, while Dadusar did not have outside viewers on this occasion. In Ismailpur and Sakarra viewers came from many neighbouring villages because their TV sets were not functioning. The first day audience sizes of Kawadpalley and Pothnal were considerably smaller when compared to other villages. High urban contact of Kawadpalley and inconvenient location of TV in Pothnal seemed to be the important reasons for relatively low attendance. In general the large attendance on the first day may be interpreted as "novelty effect".

TABLE 6.1

Village Population and First day Audience Size

Sl. No.	*Name of Village*	*Total Population*	*Estimated Audience*		*Total*
			From SITE village	*From other villages*	
1.	Kawadpalley	1089	190	10	200
2.	Ismailpur	1016	350	150	500
3.	Pothnal	1367	180	20	200
4.	Sakarra	1506	722	178	900
5.	Ghenupali	684	300	100	400
6.	Khedli*	894	—	—	—
7.	Dadusar	1482	500	—	500

* No one came to view TV on August 1, 1975 as the antenna was broken

The women viewers in most villages responded indifferently and bashfully to TV. In Pothnal not a single woman was present on the first day. In Kawadpalley their number was around 30. In Dadusar Muslim women were watching TV from behind the trees unseen by others. Women of other villages did not seem to have such inhibitions.

The Community TV Viewing

In the morning, except in Dadusar where no morning programme was telecast, school going children and few non-school going viewed TV programmes while sitting on the floor of the room. In all cases, the room doors and windows were closed during the viewing period to increase the visibility of the pictures and to create "night effects" of the cinema.

In the evening, in all the seven villages, the TV was kept in the verandah of the building in front of the open space where viewers sat on ground. Except in few real cold and rainy evenings, the

TV was brought outside the room by the custodian with the help of viewers and placed back in the room after the programme was over. The open space available in front of the TV room was large enough to provide sitting place on the ground for more than 300 to 400 persons. The evening TV viewing could well be matched with traditional *Ramlila* or *Kattia* performances where the audience sat in front of the stage to watch the performance. In this case, it was TV instead of actors performing the 'act'.

TV Viewer's Sitting Pattern

For the purpose of analysis, the sitting pattern can be broadly classified as follows :

1) Sitting pattern in Hindi speaking villages (Khedli, Ismailpur and Sakarra)
2) Sitting pattern in non-Hindi speaking villages (Kawadpalley, Pothnal, Dadusar and Ghenupali)

In Hindi speaking villages the jati-wise distinction in sitting pattern was not observed. Though, in Sakarra and Khedli, it was observed that women sat together irrespective of jati away from men. The Ismailpur audience maintained no jati and sex distinction while viewing TV. It is important to point out that Ismailpur has eight jatis in which Awadhyas are numerically most dominent.

In non-Hindi speaking villages the sitting pattern showed that jati and sex distinctions were clearly maintained while viewing programmes. In case of Kawadpalley, women sat together in jati-wise groups at the left side, while children sat in front of the TV and were scattered inbetween other audience also. Lower jati sat at the back at noticeable distance. In Pothnal lower jati women sat at the extreme back, while other women sat behind children as well as inbetween audience, but in groups. The lower jati men sat at sides, or one or two feet away from intermediate and upper jati.

Observations indicated initial resistence to sit various jatis together while viewing. In Dadusar and Kawadpalley lower jati, after few months, were tolerated to sit next to high jati viewers. In case of Dadusar, lower jati also sat among other audience.

The Viewers Size

The viewers size presented in Figure 6.1 is based on the average attendance of each month. The calculation has been made by dividing the totals of attendance by the number of observations made. As the frequency of observations vary in each village and each month, the figures may best be taken as estimates. As indicated earlier, the first day of TV attracted a large number of viewers in the six villages. Even in Khedli, when TV started functioning in October 1975 it attracted a large audience. Except in Ghenupali, nowhere the audience ever reached its first day size. Figure 6.1 shows that from November 1975 to March 1976 there are two divergent trends, merging together in March 1976. In Kawadpalley there was an increase of attendance in January 1976. In Ismailpur in the same month the attendance was the lowest.

In March 1976, the average audience size became more or less same in all the villages. Ghenupali descriptive data also show a similar trend. Though Sakarra data are not known, it is safe to assume that the audience size would also be close to what was observed in other villages. The location of TV in Pothnal adversely affected the audience size, otherwise one would expect a similar trend. Figure 6.1 shows that viewers size took about 8 months to get stabilized. Further, the average viewers size in each of these villages became more or less constant. After March 1976 the

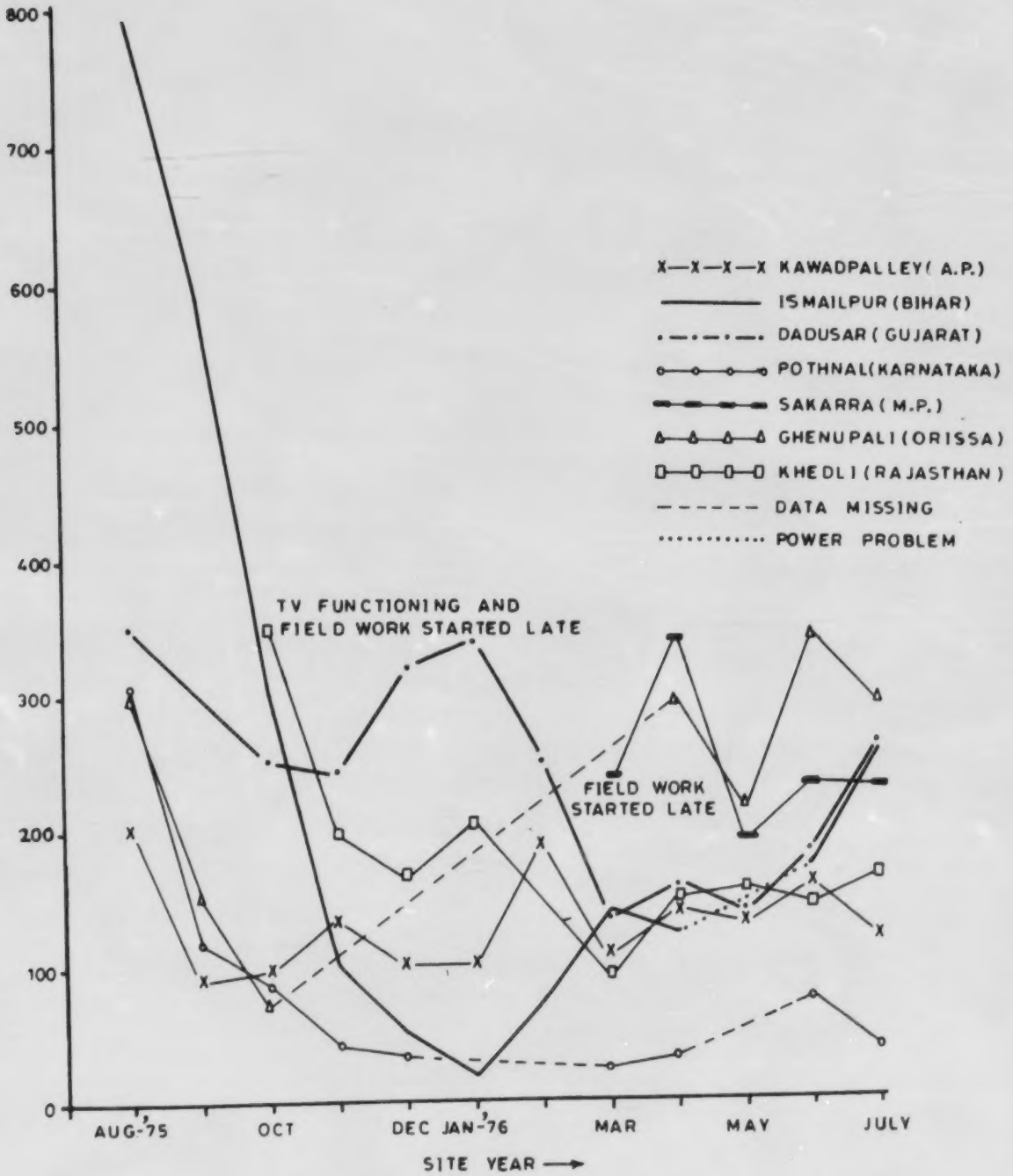


Figure 6.1 : Average of viewers' attendance by months

attendance variation was not much except in the month of July 1976. We observed a sudden increase, which is interpreted as "terminal effect".

Core Viewers

The core viewers were those who watched TV for more than two-thirds of the time, when the TV was operational. Record of these viewers were maintained in each village by the anthropologists. Analysis indicated that in no case there were more than ten viewers, who could qualify to be "core viewers". These viewers included three distinct age, sex and occupational groups.

Compared to females, core male viewers were two to three times in number. The female core viewers included older women above the age group of 34 belonging to high jati households and having larger land holdings and business. In other words, women belonging to highest and high jati had more leisure time than other jati members. The majority of female viewers lived close to the TV-centre. The male core viewers included those who were landless labourers, shopkeepers and cultivators. They belonged to the age group ranging from 25 to 60 and lived close to the TV-centre.

In all the seven villages there were at least two unemployed youth core viewers who had failed in their examinations. In the villages of Ismailpur, Sakarra and Khedli they were labelled as *Nithalu*– a person (generally a male) having no work, no responsibility and no goal in life. But they belonged to well-to-do households. These kind of viewers were also found in the other four villages. Observations indicated that *Nithalu* viewers were the most enthusiastic and concerned persons in the village for the operation and maintenance of the TV. Further more, they had no programme preferences. It seemed that core viewers were distributed in all socio-economic groups.

The other factors influencing the viewers attendance included climate, power failure, TV disorder, social taboo and theft.

Climate

Rain and TV came together in most of the villages in August 1975. Many times the TV was taken inside the room from the open space in Ismailpur and Pothnal due to rain. In the process, only a part of audience could be provided sitting space in these rooms—thus reducing total viewers size, particularly the women, who could not sit in the crowded room. Rainy season equally kept the cultivators and agricultural labourers busy in all villages. During rainy months non-agriculturists were the most frequent TV viewers.

The change of climate started adversely influencing viewers size from the end of October 1975. Due to severe cold, December experienced the fall in the viewers size. Viewers of Ismailpur and Khedli could not sit on the open ground to watch TV in the killing cold. In December viewers size reduced almost in all villages except Kawadpalley, where change in the TV telecast schedule was found more convenient. It was observed that the increase in viewers size during February 1976 was due to increase in the number of women viewers.

In Ismailpur, in August and September 1975, the audience size was large because outsiders came to watch TV in the village. From October onwards the TV sets in other villages started functioning thereby reducing the audience size. From November 1975 to January 1976, paddy harvesting and severe cold further reduced the viewers size. But from February onwards it increased due to pleasant weather and slack agricultural activities. Frequent power failures reduced the audience size in Ismailpur in April 1976.

In Khedli the viewers size increased in January due to change in weather and slack agricultural activities. February 1976 showed further rise in viewers size. In case of Ghenupali viewers size was reduced due to agricultural activity. Though in April agricultural activities were comparatively slackened, the TV telecast time was not suitable for Ghenupali viewers. But Dadusar was not disturbed due to time factor since its TV telecast schedule did not change, and also winter was quite mild.

Power Failure and TV Disorder

Power was another factor influencing the TV viewers size. Instances of sudden and unexpected power failures lasting for many days were observed. Sudden power failure led to disappointment when viewers came so anxiously to watch the TV programme. Two or three days of continuous power failure led to many days abstinence from TV viewing. This was for a week or so in case of some villages, like Ismailpur. Those who stayed nearby could see or know about the power failure. They did not mind returning back if the TV was not on. But those who were staying far off, were not ready to come again and return disappointed.

The TV had betrayed the viewers expectations from the first day of its commencement. In case of Khedli TV did not work for two months due to damaged antenna ; in Pothnal first seven days, and in Ghenupali first day was a bitter disappointment to viewers. During the SITE year, on an average, due to power failure and TV disorder about 15 per cent of the total viewing time was lost in these villages. The longest spell was in Ismailpur between April to June 1976.

Other Factors

Apart from these factors, some minor factors were also responsible for reduction in TV audience though they were not common everywhere. The fear of theft in the houses, while away for viewing TV, also discouraged many to view TV. Villagers in Dadusar experienced such mishaps. In Dadusar, TV viewing of Muslim women has been affected since the Muslim Panchayat has curtailed their freedom to talk or move freely in TV place. Rumours and actual cases of extra marital sex relations have been reported during viewing period. Such instances have also affected women attendance.

General social taboo on TV viewing for women was a strong reason which snatched women's opportunity to view TV specially in Pothnal and Kawadpalley.

In general, observations indicated that in almost all the villages landlords, persons belonging to a higher economic status, and leaders did not come to view programmes because of status consciousness.

Custodian

One of the most important factors for viewing or non-viewing of TV from the audience's point of view was the TV custodian. For each TV, two custodians were appointed by the state governments, except Gujarat, who were paid honorarium. The amount of honorarium varied from state to state. Out of the two custodians, the second person was a standby. However, observations indicated that in each of the seven villages a different pattern of operation was followed.

In Kawadpalley only a school teacher was appointed as a custodian without a standby. Enquiries indicated that a standby was appointed for every six to seven villages in the block. In early 1975 a resident teacher was nominated by block as custodian, and took charge of the television and kept it

under his possession until 20th June, 1975. By late June the state government appointed another teacher, a resident of a village located 16 km away from Kawadpalley. The latter went through the training and became 'official' custodian. In reality, due to intervention of school headmaster, the former remained *de facto* custodian during the entire SITE year and operated the television both in the morning and evening. According to the understanding reached between the official custodian and *de facto* custodian the honorarium was paid to the former. In this way, the latter was able to live in his village. This arrangement of custodian worked alright.

In Ismailpur the *Panchayat Sewak* (PS) and a school teacher were appointed custodian and standby custodian respectively. However, the PS did not work as TV custodian. Instead, a village youth, and sometimes the anthropologist, acted as custodian and operated the television in the evening. In the morning, the teacher, however, continued to operate the TV. Both the custodians felt TV operation as a burden. The youth who took over the responsibility of TV operation was happy to do so because it gave him a sense of 'power' to control TV. This arrangement had affected the TV operation adversely.

In Pothnal there were two custodians. The teacher custodian was responsible for morning while the compounder of the primary health centre was responsible for evening operation. The TV was kept in cooperative society's office-cum-residence of the secretary. In this way there were three masters of the TV, among whom the secretary had upperhand in controlling its operation. Any argument between custodians and secretary led to non-operation of TV. Village headman as the president of the cooperative society had to resolve the conflict on many occasions. Both custodians were unhappy about their honorarium and took the TV operation as a burden.

In Sakarra two custodians were appointed. Both were school teachers and lived in the village. Due to sickness of the first custodian's father, the second custodian took charge. However, he also went on leave and the responsibility of operating the TV was given to a third teacher who in turn went out on summer vacation. Finally, the TV operation came on to the shoulders of the school watchman. Observations indicated that the watchman remained the *de facto* custodian especially for the evening, though off and on the appointed custodians operated the TV especially when the school was open.

The Ghenupali school teacher who lived in the village was appointed as a custodian. Whenever he went out of the village, some one from his home operated the TV on his behalf. An additional responsibility of Ghenupali custodian was to get the battery changed every week. For this purpose the presence of custodian was essential. Although the day for battery replacement was fixed, due to lack of coordination between custodian and TV maintenance staff difficulties were observed in getting the battery replaced.

In Khedli two custodians were appointed. One of them, an old teacher living in another village, was responsible to operate the TV. Being old and non-resident of the village, he was not interested in operating the television. In order to dissuade villagers from TV viewing, he spread a rumour that TV viewing would lead to loss of eyesight. When this trick did not work he handed over the key to a local youth, and very often the key came into the hands of the anthropologist with a request that he should operate the TV. This problem was more acute for evening rather than morning as the latter was telecast during the working days of the school.

In Dadusar the secretary of Dadusar Milk Cooperative Society acted as custodian. But being an extremely busy person specially during milk collection hours in the evening, in most

cases he asked others to operate the TV. On many occasions, when the secretary was away from the village, the TV was not operated on time. However, due to viewers' pressure especially from youngsters, key of the TV room was available to others on request. Keeping these difficulties in mind the Society built a permanent cemented room with shutters on the verandah facing the open space, spending about Rs. 1000. In this small room the TV was fixed. Since then some one used to open the shutters and switch on the TV even though the secretary continue to be the TV custodian.

It was clear that the appointed custodians could not operate TV as it was initially planned. Instead, in each case, TV operation was taken over by some other person. One may suspect the occurence of similar situations in other villages too.

Change in the Telecast Schedule

The telecast schedule during the year was changed three times for all clusters except Kheda. The only schedule which remained unchanged was that of national programme which was telecast from 7.00 pm to 7.30 pm in all clusters including Kheda (see Chapter 1).

In the first quarter Telugu/Kannada programmes were telecast from 6.20 pm to 7.00 pm. By the time Hindi news started majority of the viewers in Kawadpalley and Pothnal used to return to their houses. This schedule did not affect the viewers time for evening meal. When it was re-scheduled to 8.10 pm–8.50 pm, this schedule also did not hamper their evening meal as viewers came only after their meals. But the last change (8.30 pm to 9.10 pm) demanded change in evening schedule in order to view TV. Since it was summer and cultivators were not very busy in their fields the audience size went up. The viewers came early and returned late. Observations indicated that many used TV as evening clock. Some familial quarrels were also observed because male viewers started eating late in this period.

In Hindi speaking villages of Ismailpur, Khedli and Sakarra the worse schedule was 6.00 pm-7.00 pm. In Khedli TV used to be brought out in the front which was facing west and was most inconvenient to the viewers. Many cultivators indicated that they could not reach to view TV in time because they were still busy in their fields. However, 7.30 pm–8.30 pm schedule was found more suitable.

The evening schedule for Orissa in the first quarter was from 7.30 pm to 8.30 pm along with Madhya Pradesh. It was changed to 7.30 pm to 7.50 pm from January 1, 1976 and Orissa programmes were shown separately. Telecast schedule was further changed to 6.40 pm to 7.00 pm during April-July, 1976, which was very inconvenient for the viewers as sunset was late during this season. It was the hour when the villagers usually attended to nature's call, took bath in the village pond and collected water for drinking and cooking. Above all, the labourers and cultivators returned home from their fields.

In Dadusar the telecast schedule was 7.00 pm to 8.00 pm which remained the same throughout the year. This created certain amount of difficulty in viewing TV during summer when the labourers and cultivators returned home late from the fields. It is suggested TV telecast schedule should keep in view the seasonal variations.

So far the external variables influencing TV viewing have been analysed. In the following chapter viewers characteristics and their preferences will be analysed.

Chapter Seven

Viewers, Content and Preferences

In the previous chapter external variables that influenced TV viewing have been analysed. In this chapter, we analyse the characteristics of the viewers, which can be seen in relation to programme preferences and programme content. One of the interesting experiments within SITE was to use one-video (picture) two-audio (language) technique in telecasting programmes at Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. In addition, all non-Hindi speaking villages saw Hindi programmes for half-an-hour everyday, popularly known as national programme. Responses of the viewers to the one-video and two-audio programmes will also be analysed in this chapter.

Viewers' Characteristics

For the purpose of analysis viewers have been operationally defined as those who view TV more than four times a month. This has been indicated in Chapter 2. The viewers in this analysis include those above the age of four years and have lived in the village. The data are based on a door-to-door inquiry made twice during the field work. Once it was made during mid-SITE and the second time immediately after SITE. In addition, a daily attendance register maintained by the anthropologists was used to cross check the data collected through door-to-door inquiry. There were many who viewed TV regularly during certain months, but later dropped out. However, even these villagers have been considered as viewers according to the operational definition.

Analysis indicates that almost every second person in the village above the age of four years qualified to be a viewer. On an average there were two viewers in every household in each village. Table 7.1 gives the percentage distribution of viewers by sex in all the seven villages. Table 7.1 shows that on an average the sex ratio amongst the viewers is three to two (that is, three males to two females). Village-wise analysis indicates that the minimum number of females who viewed TV were in Pothnal. Explanation for low female viewing is already given earlier

TABLE 7.1

Percentage Distribution of Viewers by Sex

Sl. No.	*Village*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
1.	Kawadpalley	62.5	37.5	381
2.	Ismailpur	72.5	27.5	171
3.	Pothnal	81.8	18.2	220
4.	Sakarra	55.8	44.2	912
5.	Ghenupali	56.7	43.3	420
6.	Khedli	63.0	37.0	511
7.	Dadusar	61.7	38.3	543
	Average	61.6	38.4	451.2

while discussing the location of TV. A higher percentage of female viewed TV at Sakarra and Ghenupali (44.2 per cent and 43.3 per cent respectively). It is because women enjoy more or less equal status in these two villages and in the region as a whole.

The Table 7.2 gives the percentage distribution of viewers according to age group. The distribution of the viewers shows an inverse relationship between age and TV viewing, that is as the age increases the TV viewing decreases. In other words, the largest percentage of viewers come from the age group 5 to 14 years, and the smallest number of viewers come from the age group of above 55 years. This general pattern was followed in all the villages except in Ismailpur as regards the age groups of 5–14 and 15–24 years. This was because there were a large number of *Nithalu* or unemployed persons in the village (about 28.1 per cent of viewers were having secondary and higher education).

TABLE 7.2

Percentage Distribution of Viewers according to age in Years

Sl. No.	*Village*	*5–14*	*15–24*	*25–34*	*35–44*	*45–54*	*55 and above*	*Total*
1.	Kawadpalley	52.8	20.5	10.0	6.8	6.0	3.9	381
2.	Ismailpur	21.1	25.7	23.4	14.6	9.9	5.3	171
3.	Pothnal	53.2	23.2	12.7	4.5	4.1	2.3	220
4.	Sakarra	28.2	18.6	19.5	13.7	10.3	9.6	912
5.	Ghenupali	38.6	16.9	16.4	15.0	6.9	6.2	420
6.	Khedli	38.0	20.7	18.8	10.4	9.8	2.3	511
7.	Dadusar	62.2	20.8	8.5	5.7	2.0	0.7	543
	Average	41.4	20.0	15.7	10.5	7.4	5.0	451.2

The Table 7.3 gives percentage distribution of viewers by levels of literacy. The distribution pattern of viewers into illiterate, primary, secondary categories indicates that there were relatively more viewers in the categories of secondary and higher educated in comparison to the general level of education in these villages. It seems TV attracted educated viewers. However, in absolute numbers, approximately over 50 per cent of the viewers were illiterate—mostly women and landless labourers.

The occupational distribution of viewers in Table 7.4 consists of cultivators, labourers, students and housewives who are more or less evenly distributed. Taken together, these four categories constitute about 95 per cent of the total viewers' population.

The lowest number of cultivator-viewers were from Dadusar (7.2 per cent), but it might be mentioned that Dadusar had the largest percentage of landless labourers (more than 50 per cent). Ismailpur had the lowest percentage of labourer-viewers, but then it had the smallest percentage of labourers too. Similarly, the lowest number of viewers who claimed to have no work were from Ismailpur. Observations indicated that most of the youth having no work claimed to be students thereby reflecting a higher percentage of student-viewers in Ismailpur. Table 7.4 does not support the view that TV viewing was favoured by a particular occupational group.

TABLE 7.3

Percentage Distribution of Viewers by Level of Literacy

Sl. No.	*Village*	*Illiterate*	*Primary Education*	*Secondary and above Education*	*Total*
1.	Kawadpalley	47.5	44.9	7.6	381
2.	Ismailpur	53.2	18.7	28.1	171
3.	Pothnal	62.3	29.5	8.2	220
4.	Sakarra	55.4	34.1	10.5	912
5.	Ghenupali	57.6	33.1	9.3	420
6.	Khedli	74.2	18.2	7.6	511
7.	Dadusar	48.4	43.3	8.3	543
	Average	56.9	31.2	9.9	

TABLE 7.4

Percentage Distribution of Viewers by Occupation

Sl. No.	*Village*	*Culti-vation*	*Labour*	*Business*	*Prof. Employ.*	*Jati Re. Occ.*	*No Work*	*Student*	*House-wife*
1.	Kawadpalley* (381)	12.9	29.4	0.3	3.1	4.7	9.2	31.0	9.4
2.	Ismailpur (171)	29.8	14.6	6.4	2.3	0.0	6.4	19.9	20.5
3.	Pothnal (220)	30.9	15.9	0.9	0.5	1.8	16.8	16.8	16.4
4.	Sakarra (912)	15.4	22.4	0.4	3.5	2.1	15.2	17.0	24.0
5.	Ghenupali (420)	15.5	18.6	1.7	4.3	0.7	11.9	13.1	34.3
6.	Khedli (511)	23.7	23.5	1.0	0.8	1.4	15.9	13.9	20.0
7.	Dadusar (543)	7.2	34.3	1.5	1.1	1.3	12.0	38.3	4.4

* Number in parenthesis indicates the number of viewers.

In general, TV being located in a community place allowed a variety of occupational groups to watch it. In most cases, the external factors indicated in the previous chapter became determining factors as to whether one would view TV.

Programme Content

The programme content can be essentially divided into morning and evening telecast. The programme content of morning telecast will be described in Chapter nine. The programme content of the evening telecast can be divided into four broad categories, having difference in content and format covering a wide range of topics.

The national Hindi programme included a ten minutes daily news in Hindi with emphasis on regional news related to rural areas and development. Folk dances, *'Ek Desh Anek Pradesh'* (One Country, Many Provinces), weather forecasts, general information on agriculture, and Indian News Review were part of the national telecast.

Another programme category for evening telecast was in Hindi language for Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Detailed analysis of the programme content based on the estimation of the actual telecast, is given in Table 7.5 according to major SITE instructional areas, and it shows that approximately 54 per cent programmes belong to categories other than instructional. Not more than 30 per cent of the programmes belong to instructional areas like agriculture, health, hygiene and nutrition, animal husbandry and family planning. In these programmes a variety of formats were used, the important ones being documentary, demonstration-cum-lectures, cartoons, discussions and stories. Each day, one hour programme was telecast for these three clusters. The programme also included a children's movie on the last Sunday of the month. About 20 per cent of the programmes were repeated.

TABLE 7.5

Percentage Distribution of Programmes according to Content and Instructional areas — Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan

Sl. No.	*Programme category*	*Percentage*
1.	Recreational/Entertainment programme	54.07
2.	Instructional programmes (other than SITE objectives)*	14.80
3.	Health, Hygiene and Nutrition	11.35
4.	Animal Husbandry	3.10
5.	Agriculture	11.94
6.	Family Planning	4.74
	Total programme	100.00

* This include 20-point and Emergency programme

In the programme category of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka one-audio and two-video format was used. Table 7.6 provides distribution of programme according to major SITE instructional areas. Table 7.6 shows that 879 programmes were shown in which about 31.8 per cent were in SITE instructional areas. Other programmes included entertainment programmes in Kannada and Telugu separately, Films Division documentary and entertainment programmes in Hindi. Apart from the formats used in Hindi language, two local formats like ***Burrakatha*** and ***Gigi-pada*** were also used. The duration of the telecast was forty minutes. About 25 per cent of the programmes were repeated.

The third category of programmes was in Oriya language for a duration of twenty minutes everyday. Table 7.7 gives the distribution of programmes and programme content. A little over 26 per cent of the programmes were directly related to SITE instructional areas in the last nine months. In the first three months, when Madhya Pradesh and Orissa were together, the programmes on instructional areas were less than 25 per cent. At that time the duration of the telecast was forty minutes between these two states.

TABLE 7.6

Percentage Distribution of Programmes according to Content and Instructional areas — Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka

Sl. No.	*Programme category*		*Percentage*
1.	Entertainment (Kannada)		12.7
2.	Health, Hygiene & Nutrition		11.8
3.	Entertainment (Telugu)		11.3
4.	20-point programme		8.6
5.	Films Division Documentaries (including INR's)		8.6
6.	Instructional other than SITE objectives		7.5
7.	Agriculture		7.3
8.	Entertainment (other languages—Hindi, Urdu etc.)		6.0
9.	Family Planning		5.5
10.	Children's evening programme (Telugu)		3.9
11.	Animal Husbandry		3.5
12.	National Integration		3.1
13.	Children's evening programme (Kannada)		2.8
14.	Miscellaneous Informative programme		5.0
15.	Emergency programme		2.4
	Total programmes	879	100.0

In Gujarat half-an-hour Gujarati programme was telecast after the national programme. Table 7.8 gives the detailed distribution of the programme content. It may be mentioned that there were high percentage of "social problem" related programmes in Kheda.

TABLE 7.7

Percentage Distribution of Programmes according to Content and Instructional areas — Orissa

Sl. No.	*Programme category*		*Percentage*
1.	Agriculture		10.7
2.	Animal Husbandry		2.8
3.	Family Planning		4.2
4.	Health, Hygiene and Nutrition		11.3
5.	National Integration		2.4
6.	Informative & Instructional other than SITE objectives		22.4
7.	Entertainment		46.4
	Total programmes	578	100.0

TABLE 7.8

Percentage Distribution of Programmes according to Content and Instructional areas — Kheda

Sl. No.	*Programme category*		*Percentage*
1.	Hardcore (SITE Instructional areas)		17.0
2.	Softcore		25.0
3.	Song/Dance/Music		13.0
4.	Local Affairs		14.0
5.	Children's programme		19.0
6.	Others		8.0
7.	Newsreels		4.0
	Total programmes	852	100.0

Programme Preference

The term 'programme preference' is defined in terms of the viewers verbalization about their liking or preference of a programme over others. It is essentially conveyed in relative manner by comparing one programme with the other. The preference is reflected in terms of topic' format, language and programme schedule. The first three factors are intrinsic to programme itself whereas the forth factor is external related to package of the programme. The analysis covers each of the instructional areas separately, and the programme preferences of the viewers within that area.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Among all the programmes majority, especially the cultivators, preferred to view programmes related to agriculture. The cultivators expressed their appreciation of constructive and demonstrative instructional agricultural programmes. The most easily comprehended programmes were those presented in demonstration-cum-lecture formats. Topics dealing with day-to-day agricultural problems amenable within the village environment by the individual cultivators were appreciated. Therefore, programmes giving information about high yielding varieties of seeds, new methods of sowing, mixed cropping, nursery bed making and irrigation of wheat were watched with special attention. These programmes were better understood if they were presented in the language of the region. As indicated in Chapter IV, none of the languages spoken in the villages was used on TV except in Dadusar where Charautari was utilised to some extent. Furthermore, the use of English-sounding technical names compounded the problem. The lack of language comprehension was compensated through visuals, and probably it was the reason why demonstration-cum-lecture format was preferred.

Programmes demonstrating modern agricultural implements were turned upon by the cultivators. Their reaction was either of disgust or irritation. It should be mentioned that programmes suggesting untimely recommendations were extremely annoying to the cultivators.

Programmes on animal husbandry were not of much interest to the villagers in all the villages except in Dadusar. They enjoyed telecasts on these topics, but could not follow the technical terms for the various diseases and drugs. The suggestion, that the villagers contact the block animal husbandry officials, was criticized because these facilities were not available to the villagers.

Health, Hygiene and Nutrition

The programmes related to curative and preventive methods already available in the villages were preferred, for example *"Gharelu Ilaj"* (home remedies) telecast in Hindi speaking villages was very popular. So was the case with *Yogasana*. Programmes related to family planning were not really appreciated, especially if they were in the form of lectures and discussions. Observations indicated that when such programmes were telecast the viewers got so disinterested that they left. However, that was not a very common factor.

Recreational Programme

The recreational programmes were liked well in all the villages, especially if the formats used were adopted from existing "folk tradition". It may be mentioned that if the programmes were entertaining enough, in terms of songs and dances, language did not become a barrier from enjoying the programme. Due to this reason recreational programmes of other clusters were viewed with enthusiasm in all the villages.

Religious plays, such as Ramleela, were very popular among the viewers. On the whole the villagers appreciated folk songs and dances, and preferred much more if it was in their own dialect. Dance and song based on light music received more appreciation than the classical ones. This was especially so among the youth in the age group of 15–24.

Appreciation of plays and films occupied a second place in the minds of the viewers. Often the message implicit in film or play was not understood by the villagers. They merely watched it for entertainment.

Other Programmes

Prime Minister's 20-point programme initially created high hopes among the poor viewers, which due to lack of any follow up action generated a sense of indifference and apathy among them, and some amount of conflict between landless labourers, land owners, and money lenders. National days like January 26 attracted large viewers from neighbouring villages too. The Hindi common news was almost ineffective in all villages.

ONE-VIDEO TWO-AUDIO

Among many experiments within SITE, one-video (picture) and two-audio (two languages) was an interesting and challenging problem for the advocates of single-video multiple-audio satellite based TV. It was also a challenge for the programme planners and producers to use such technical innovation. They needed special programme formats and intimate knowledge of linguistic and cultural regions. The one-video and two-audio system of TV transmission was adopted for the first time in SITE. For Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh the picture or the video remained the same while the audio was in respective languages of Kannada and Telugu on two separate channels. In this section an analysis of some of the problems faced by viewers of Pothnal (Kannada speaking) and Kawadpalley (Telugu speaking) has been presented.

As indicated, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka clusters received in total 40 minutes TV programmes everyday. However, items in two-audio with dubbed sound-tracks, accounted for only 40 per cent of the total duration programme. The rest of the 60 per cent was produced on single-audio. In both clusters, that is Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, the viewers equally shared the disadvantages of receiving about 25 per cent of the programmes in a single-audio (either in Kannada or in Telugu). The most important question one has to answer is, how this 25 per cent programmes in Telugu were received by the viewers in Karnataka and how viewers in Andhra Pradesh responded to 25 per cent Kannada programmes.

Announcement

Majority of the announcements were in both languages. Generally, the live announcement on channel I was in Telugu while the Kannada announcement would be in a commentary form in channel II. The announcement in Telugu would be over while the Kannada commentary still continued. The announcer was just kept gazing at the audience because the announcement in Kannada or in Telugu language in the other channel was not yet over. Such a situation brought comments from the viewers of both Kawadpalley and Pothnal. In Pothnal the viewers shouted *'Innuvarege hanga nintal hogval nodu'* (Still she is standing, why is she not going?). They also said "Please go away great man ; how long can we see you". Even for a lady announcer who was smiling or laughing they would say *'Hogava tai inn saku'* (Go away mother, it's enough for now). Whenever an unattractive and unpleasing female announcer appeared the youths commen-

ted "Did they not get any other announcer ?" In Kawadpalley the viewers shouted *'Chalu Vellira inka endukunnav'* (Go away).

Another problem of the two-audio and one-video system was the lack of lip synchronization of the announcer. In Karnataka such a situation was ridiculed as "Look he is simply *beating his* lips and some one is speaking at the back !" It also made a few illiterate men say "He/She is not able to speak". A more knowledgable viewer would correct the statement by saying "Another man is speaking in the background, the announcer is only opening and closing her/his mouth". In Kawadpalley, if an announcer was simply moving his lips without speaking after the announcement was over the viewers suspected the announcer was hurling abuses and making wild gestures at them. Observations indicated that the problem of lip synchronization affected the credibility of the TV as a medium to an extent. This needs to be given serious consideration.

Single Video Programmes

As mentioned earlier, the viewers in Kawadpalley as well as in Pothnal had to see about 25 per cent of the total telecast in a language which was not their own. The question raised here was regarding the effect of such programmes on the audience. In Kawadpalley, one most common request of the viewers was to increase the quantum of the Telugu programmes. So was the case in Pothnal.

The family planning programmes and agricultural and other instructional programmes in the other language, in the form of speech/talk/discussion, created disinterest among viewers. In such cases a considerable size of viewers used to leave for home murmering "They hardly show any Kannada/ Telugu programmes". During Andhra Chief Minister's message on November 1, 1975, and the talk by Minister for Social Welfare in April, 1976 in Pothnal the viewers left the TV place. Lack of comprehension and language understanding created disinterest, and also led to loss of credibility of the medium.

The viewers in Pothnal and Kawadpalley were happy to see mythological programmes, folk songs, dances and dramas in either language. The Kannada viewers liked the Lullaby, *Tulsi Jalandhara, Krishna Rayabharam* and *Krishna Leelalu* in Telugu, while Telugu viewers liked the *Krishna Parijatha* and some of the *Yakshaganas*. Such mythological programmes cast their spell on the audience in front of them. They were observed making spontaneous remarks on the epic among themselves. The audience got so much involved in the mythological programmes that language was of no consequence. Hence, the multiple-audio could be effective for mythological programmes. The Kannada programmes like *Purandaradasa,* with commentary in Telugu was viewed with interest by Telugu viewers. In Pothnal the viewers even discussed about the Telugu mythological programmes with the persons who had not viewed these programmes, and same was the case in Kawadpalley.

Lecture-Demonstration

The two-audio one-video system worked most effectively for instructional programmes which were in the "lecture-demonstration" format. The agricultural operations like harrowing, ploughing synchronized with the background commentary. These programmes were fortunately accepted and less was commented except when the commentator made mistakes. Large per cent of the instructional programmes were made in lecture-demonstration format. The programmes leading to behavioural changes, like in agriculture, health or doll making, were made using lecture-demonstration. This format as such did not create any difficulty of lip synchronization.

Children's Programmes

Programmes meant for children and telecast on alternate Sundays in each language kept the audience happy. Even if the single-audio was used for songs, dramas or plays (mythological or social) the children as well as adults viewed the programmes with great interest. In general, for good entertainment programmes the language component did not affect the audience strength, even if the entertainment programme was in single-audio. It seems that there is a scope for experiment with multiple-audio and single-video in a lecture-demonstration format.

Chapter Eight

Television and Process of Change

In the previous chapter an attempt was made to analyse the TV viewers' characteristics, programme content, programme preferences and the effects of one-video and two-audio system on the viewers. An estimate was also made as to how much actual TV viewing took place during the SITE year. Now we turn our attention to the three most important questions raised in the first chapter, namely — (a) the role played by TV in accelerating rural development in the areas of agriculture, family planning, health, hygiene and nutrition; (b) the micro-level changes brought about by TV in the village culture, and (c) the process of adoption of developmental messages with special reference to special telecast for cultivators in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. In addition, the impact of TV on school going children in the age group 5-12 years, and the Multi-media Package Training Programme are analysed in chapter nine.

In each of the seven villages, TV viewing and its presence directly triggered the process of change as regards the TV viewers. Through demonstration and interpersonal discussion this process was also initiated among those who viewed TV less than four times in a month. The information telecast through television went through varying degrees of adoption. Adoption can be operationally defined as the actual use of an innovation after viewing the programme at least once.

The process that essentially follows after TV viewing is: (a) comparison of the existing information with the TV information, (b) individual gauging on the pros and cons—advantages and disadvantages, mostly in economic terms, (c) keeping the information to oneself or sometimes sharing the information with very intimate persons who influence the decision, (d) reconsideration of the ideas in the light of the constraints, available resources and the risk involved, (e) actual adoption without telling anyone due to fear of possible failure and the fear of being laughed at, and (f) disclosure of the adoption only when the results are positive.

The process delineated above is a generalized one and to a large extent applicable in almost all cases. It is highly likely that a message is also introduced through another medium or source apart from TV. In the process of analysis it is possible to isolate such incidents. Most of the analysis presented here is in the form of actual case studies. These case studies were carefully investigated by anthropologists during their course of field work in a diachronic perspective. In a few cases, when the adoption was observed the anthropologists traced back the process of adoption. For the convenience of analysis and description, each of the SITE instructional areas are dealt separately.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Agricultural TV programmes, among all instructional areas, provided extremely useful and concrete evidences to support the view that TV viewing led to changes in behaviour through a process of individual decision making with or without the help of household members. Adoption of innovations in agriculture was found more feasible in those cases which did not involve additional expenditure, could be used locally by the cultivators, was not dependent upon external and specialized information, and was least dependent upon agricultural developmental

agencies and their infrastructure. Some of the adoptions observed in each of these villages and some selected case studies are given here.

In Kawadpalley new method of paddy cultivation, improved method of seed bed making, and nursery care were adopted by two cultivators each. Due to demonstration effect, in the following season, three cultivators followed the first method and one cultivator during the same season the second method.

In Ismailpur television viewing led to better care of winter vegetables from pest by using melathion. In the same village, the cultivators used tub and lantern method of killing insects in the paddy fields. So was the case about the insect control on paddy crop by spraying a mixture of BHC and urea. Repeated TV messages, attraction of fertilizer loan coupled with high yielding variety seed Janak—led seven cultivators to adopt the use of Janak variety of wheat. Spray of endrin to control pyrella on sugarcane was adopted after TV viewing by two cultivators.

In Pothnal mixed cropping was followed by two cultivators — one due to TV viewing and another as a result of discussion with a viewer and observing the first cultivator.

In Ghenupali modern method of transplantation of paddy cultivation was adopted as a result of TV viewing. In Khedli village modern method of sowing was adopted by two cultivators.

In each of these villages a number of new ideas, which were learnt through TV, could not be adopted due to lack of infrastructure and financial resources, and higher risk involved. In Khedli, despite the best efforts, soil could not be tested as block development officials did not help. Compost pits could not be dug by a cultivator due to lack of infrastructure. A Ghenupali cultivator could not put the right amount of fertilizer due to financial constraints.

In Dadusar as a result of TV viewing first-aid facilities for milch cattle were demanded and utilized, and artificial insemination was conducted as prescribed. Protection of cattle was followed, as suggested by TV, in other villages to some extent. It may be mentioned that agricultural development was fairly high in Dadusar and emphasis was put on animal husbandry in the programmes telecast. So far actual cases of adoption have been indicated. In the following pages three case studies are analysed to elaborate the process of adoption as a result of TV viewing.

TV and Agriculture: A case from Pothnal

Sri Yellappa is a young, energetic and aspiring cultivator of 26 years age. He has studied upto Pre-university certificate or first year of college. He likes to meet and discuss various matters with government officials and other villagers. His circle of village friends consists of educated youth with a lot of interests like seeing films, travelling and keenness in developing their farms. Sri Yellappa sees movies, preferably Kannada and Telugu. He visits the towns of Manvi and Sindhnur for bringing agricultural inputs, or in connection with work at bank, block development office or Tahsildar's office, and for marketing. He also participates in extra curricular activities during free time.

There are totally 19 members in Sri Yellappa's household. The total land of 44 acres is owned jointly by the four brothers under the father's name. The brothers, however, are living under different roofs and cooking separately. Sri Yellappa, the youngest son, stays with his parents Sri Jadeppa and Jademma along with his wife and one year old daughter. If the total landownership

is divided into four households along with his father, he owns only 12 acres of land. He and his other brothers do all types of agricultural work of ploughing, harrowing, interculturing, irrigating the land and applying fertilizers.

Economically, Sri Yellappa's household before 1962 was a struggling household. The economic condition of the household was bad. Sri Yellappa's household cultivated 22 acres of jowar, 16 acres of cotton and 6 acres of *Navani* (barley). They could not get the canal irrigation as the land is located at a higher elevation. They did not know the proper use of cowdung manure, chemical fertilizers, pesticides or improved seeds. They produced 10 bags of jowar, 5 bags of *Navani* and 3 quintals of local variety of cotton. This was hardly sufficient for all the 8 members then. In 1973 an American peace corps worker came to Pothnal and became Sri Yellappa's friend. He helped Sri Yellappa in levelling the land and also in getting loans for the purchase of pumps. This helped in improving the household economy.

Television Inspiration: Sri Yellappa watches television about 8 times in a month. Compared to a few other regular viewers Sri Yellappa is less exposed to television viewing. But his comprehension of the programmes and discussion on them are better.

An agricultural programme *Mishra Bele* (mixed cropping) was shown in the month of September 1975. In this programme cultivation of various combinations of crops like millet and *tudal*, maize and groundnuts were shown. The visuals were clear and there was commentary in Kannada. It was said that by growing two crops together a cultivator escapes the risks of failure of one crop, and that it was also profitable. Sri Yellappa saw this programme and said he would try it in his field. He discussed about this idea with his friends. After a month or so he forgot about it.

In the month of February 1976, Sri Yellappa had sown one acre with hybrid groundnuts. After fifteen days he observed that at some places groundnuts had not germinated properly. He was not happy in leaving the land unutilised. At that point, he remembered the TV programme on mixed cropping. So, he went to Manvi town, brought maize seeds and dribbled these seeds on the vacant places in the groundnut field. When crops were harvested the production of groundnuts and maize was 6 quintals and one-half quintal respectively.

We note here that the idea of mixed cropping was not new. Mixing of crops like millet and pulses is prevalent in dry cultivation. Sri Yellappa had mixed maize with groundnut as recommended on Television. Later also he mixed onions with cotton and earned additional Rs. 1800 by selling onions. This has led to adoption of mixed cropping in the village.

TV and Agriculture : A case from Khedli

Sri Radheshyam belongs to *Khandelwal Mahajan* jati. He is 30 years old and educated upto 5th grade. He has five children and lives in a large household consisting of 18 members. His father is the head of the household. The household has 70 acres of cultivable land and is considered to be a 'rich' household. Their main source of income is from grain trade.

Sri Radheshyam has urban contacts and watches movies. He is conscious of the family planning programmes. It was for this reason that he got himself vasectomized in 1974. In agriculture he uses tractors on hire, chemical fertilizers, high yielding varieties of seeds and pesticides. These he used even before SITE. He watched TV programmes for almost 20 days in a month and liked the agricultural and religious programmes the most. However, no women from his household viewed TV.

When Sri Radheshyam saw the programme "wheat seed sowing" on TV for the first time, he was surprised as the method shown on TV was quite different from that followed by him. He thought it was nonsense, the announcer must have committed a mistake. But when he saw the same programme again, he felt that it was the villagers who were making the mistake since TV programmes were reliable and authentic. Hence, he asked his agricultural labourer Sri Kalyan, an illiterate father of six children and also a viewer, to adopt the method of sowing as shown on TV. However, before doing so, Sri Kalyan inquired why should they adopt a new method and why could they not continue with their old practice. Sri Radheshyam did not like to discuss about the new method of wheat sowing with others. He felt that only if the crops were better, he will inform others.

In the adoption of the practice some important points came to light. The new sowing method involved only two persons in the sowing operation, as did the previous practice. Hence no extra manpower was required. The equipment and tools used for sowing remained the same as in the old method. Further, since no extra manpower and no extra tools were required, there was no additional expenditure. Besides, specialized advice was not required from outside and the risk was also very little. Due to "demonstration effect" two other cultivators also adopted the new practice. On harvesting the crops Sri Radheshyam noted that the difference in the produce was negligible, as compared to the crops sown by the traditional method. However, the stems of the plant were stronger and could sustain winds.

TV and Agriculture : A case from Kawadpalley

Sri Kandadi Yella Reddy is an elderly member belonging to *Gadutli* jati. He owns one acre of wet land and eleven acres of dry land in the village. He does money lending business and is considered a knowledgable person by the villagers. He was elected as member of Kawadpalley Panchayat Council in 1960. He can read and write Telugu. He can also understand Urdu to some extent. Sri Yella Reddy has been cultivating the wet land jointly with his younger brother Sri Laxma Reddy. He has adopted Sri Mohan Reddy (son of Sri Laxma Reddy) as his son, who is educated upto the 9th grade. Sri Yella Reddy is known in the village as one among those persons who are adopters of new innovations. He was one of the first to use the weeder, sprayer and fertilizer along with high yielding variety of seeds. Sri Yella Reddy, besides movies, used to watch the television regularly specially agricultural and religious programmes. Sri Laxma Mohan Reddy was also a regular viewer.

A programme on improved method of tomato nursery was shown in Hindi on July 26, 1976 and was repeated on July 28, 1976 with additional information. In the programme the seed bed was made by loosening the soil with a hoe. The seeds were sown in rows and were treated with pesticide. Phosphate fertilizer was applied. Hay was spread on the seed and was watered everyday. This yielded an early nursery than the traditional method.

Sri Yellappa Reddy followed some of the TV points while making his seed bed for tomato nursery. When Sri Mohan Reddy revealed about the adoption of tomato nursery bed, it gave rise to a discussion. Sri Mohan Reddy said "We have made the seed bed in a soft soil by making it loose. We have sown the tomato seeds and watered them and covered with straw. We did not use any fertilizer or pesticide as we could not get the name of the pesticide to be used and it was costly". Another member of *Gudati* jati who was present said "The method was good". The younger brother of the man said "It would be still better if the pesticide is also used." Another man who belonged to the *Gaodla* jati said "We use the palm leaves to cover the seed bed of tobacco, he had

also covered the seed bed with straw. What is new in it." Sri Mohan Reddy replied, "We use the palm leaves to cover the seed bed of tobacco only. We do not use it for any other seed bed. We saw this method on TV and used it. Is it not a new thing?"

Analysis of the adoptions and all the earlier case studies show that the timely programmes on improvement of existing methods, without involving extra expenditure, receive higher attention and would lead to adoption. The most important conclusions that have been drawn from the analysis of adoption process are the following:

(a) Adoption of the innovations, mentioned in the above cases, occurred after viewing the programmes at least twice. In other words, repetition of the programme helps in reinforcing the ideas.

(b) None of the practices were absolutely new except Janak high yielding variety wheat. Each of the improved agricultural practices adopted were heard of by a few cultivators prior to arrival of TV. TV helped them in following accurate steps.

(c) During the process of adoption, none of the adopters let anybody know about it except a few members of the household and householder friends, due to the fear of being laughed at until adoption was actually successful. When a non-viewer simultaneously followed the innovation it was after observing the former cultivator who could not hide the adoption in the field anyway. Khedli adoption of sowing method supports this view.

(d) None of the adopted practices required expertise, a large amount of additional expenditure, and involved risk with promise of higher economic gains — increase in production rate of crop.

(e) The adopters of the innovation seem to be heads of the households or *de facto* decision makers of agricultural operations. They also are young, and in case they are old it is indicated that the younger person's persuations have led them to take the risk of following the improved methods. Each of these cultivators tend to own 2 or more acres of land. The adopters tend to be literate and have a fairly high urban contact.

Special Morning Telecast for Cultivators

In Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka clusters, during the summer of 1976, eighteen programmes in the areas of agriculture and animal husbandry were shown as special morning telecast for cultivators in 18 days. Each programme consisted of one instructional programme and one entertainment programme. In Kawadpalley the TV was operated on half of the days, and even on those days the audience never exceeded eight males out of which only two were cultivators. Even these cultivators were not the decision makers in their households. The reason for the low attendance was that the telecast days coincided with the intense agricultural activities in the village. Even those viewers who came to watch TV did not find the repetitions interesting. In case of Pothnal no data are available to show whether TV was on during the period.

Health, Hygiene and Nutrition

In case of health, hygiene and nutrition programmes, viewers of both sexes and children seemed to have picked up those ideas which they thought were important for them. The importance may be defined in terms of the viewers immediate felt need. The information received in this area from TV helped in crystallizing the ideas, changing and reinforcing the existing beliefs, adding

new knowledge and adopting the new health innovations. In Kawadpalley viewers saw a programme on methods of cooking rice by keeping gruel. Two programmes were shown in which it was suggested that gruel should not be removed while cooking rice. According to prevalent belief in Kawadpalley, unseparated gruel rice causes *watham* (flatulence) in the body. Two young viewers (one male and one female), brother and sister, literate, aged 18 and 27, saw the programme on both occasions. Returning home after the second viewing, which was a month later, they told their mother that the present method of cooking rice was a faulty one. They pressed hard on her to follow the method they had seen on TV. After patient listening, the mother quietly continued her old ways of cooking. Little is known whether there was a discussion between the mother and daughter before actual adoption. The daughter entered the kitchen and did not allow the mother to cook the rice, instead she cooked the rice as shown on TV. The reason for the delayed adoption might be the sickness of the daughter for six weeks after viewing TV. It may be mentioned that she continued to view TV even during the sickness. A similar process was observed in the adoption of green vegetables by the same household after TV viewing.

A programme on hookworm, called *Ankushkrimi* in cartoon format, was shown twice at an interval of about four months in which a number of instructions, including the use of footwear to prevent the attack of hookworm, was suggested. The programme was liked in Khedli, Sakarra and Ismailpur due to its cartoon format. The instruction was not meaningful for Khedli as majority of the villagers used footwear. On the other hand, in Ismailpur the use of footwear was uncommon. It was observed that a female regular viewer, belonging to a small cultivator's household with almost no media exposure, saw the programme with her husband, who thought that the suggestion of wearing footwear for preventing hookworm was impractical and asked "what to do if the hands go into the mud during transplantation" in a sarcastic manner.

The same programme was seen by another 15 years old girl, studying in the 6th grade, belonging to a cultivator household owning 6 acres of land. This cultivator was known for his progressive views. The idea of footwear was adopted by the girl by pressing hard on her parents. Before the advent of TV many knew about the cleaning of teeth and bathing in Khedli. However, most of the members of lower and intermediate jatis did not clean the teeth and only occasionally wiped their teeth with cloth. Similarly, they bathed only couple of times in a month. The TV viewing seemed to have influenced the hygienic habits of the villagers. Some viewers adopted the cleaning of teeth with a neem twig, specially the children. For example, a 13 years old boy, studying in 4th standard who saw the programmes on personal cleanliness and the care of teeth in the morning as well as evening telecast, adopted new habits of cleanliness. Similar incidents were observed in Sakarra and Dadusar.

In Ghenupali the health programmes as shown on TV seemed to be monotonous to the villagers. It was observed that the children and adult male viewers broke up at the beginning of some health programmes. The discussions on health apparently were not appreciated. The above analysis shows the following :

(a) The 'innovations' adopted in the villages were not new, and many knew that the rice cooked with gruel and cleaning of teeth and taking bath were good for health.

(b) When it was shown for the first time it did not register on the viewers. But second viewing reinforced the new idea, which was followed by discussion and final adoption. The delay in adoption was essentially a situational factor.

(c) Adoption took place because it was only a modification in the practice without incurring large additional expenditure.

Family Planning

In general, the observations indicate that the programmes on family planning yielded little positive results. The viewers were specially disinterested in the interviews or discussions related to family planning. Some times, such programmes even forced viewers to return home. However, TV helped in increasing awareness about family planning and aroused public discussion among those who earlier accepted "gift of God" without question. Before the arrival of TV the villagers did not like to talk about family planning, whereas today many discussed family planning, some times seriously and often jokingly. In favour of family planning reference was made to a TV programme in which a boat was shown sinking under the weight of a large family.

Prior to the arrival of TV in Kawadpalley about 13 women and 8 men had undergone family planning operations. Nirodh was sold in one of the general stores of the village. Pills were used by one woman, supplied by an auxiliary nursing midwife. TV helped in reinforcing family planning ideas and aroused discussion. Some of the women became convinced about the advantages of having a "small family" as a result of TV viewing and even thought of getting themselves operated. Few older viewers felt, it was upto the younger generation to take up the family planning measures.

In Ismailpur out of 9 men of different jatis who had undergone vasectomy operation, only a 28 years old illiterate small cultivator viewer credited TV as the 'stimulator'. After getting two sons he was not in a mood to have any more children. At the same time the family planning workers started trying to motivate him for vasectomy. But it was TV which helped him in crystallizing his understanding of the problems of large sized family. So he decided to go through the operation. In spite of the official pressure five villagers resisted vasectomy operation in the "family planning camp" held at Ismailpur. One of them, a 50 years old TV viewer school teacher, demanded that he should be provided "TV type" facilities in the camp.

In Pothnal the response of the villagers towards family planning programmes was low. Illiterate viewers ironically felt that TV showed nothing but family planning programmes. Male viewers while viewing programmes on family planning, depicting hospitals doctors and operations commented and laughed among themselves. However, some programmes helped a few to develop positive attitude towards family planning. For example, one 29 years old lower *jati* illiterate man earlier thought more children meant more help for agricultural work. While viewing family planning programmes he began telling his friends that no children were needed any more. There were others who still thought operation was dangerous.

In Khedli before the advent of SITE family planning was a much feared and misunderstood subject. After TV viewing at least some women have understood the importance of family planning. One of the intermediate jati women, who believed that the children were the gift of God, later confessed that after viewing many TV programmes she learned the names of some contraceptives and their utility. The women who were earlier easily offended if some one tried to talk about family planning, started discussing the subject openly among themselves. Many of the female TV viewers who saw programmes on contraceptive devices wanted to know more about the oral pills. However, their enthusiasm gradually died down as no oral pills were available in the local family planning sub-centre. Similar observations were made in Sakarra, Ghenupali and

Dadusar—even though there were indications that adoption of family planning practices took place in Dadusar.

National Programme

The half-an-hour national programme telecast in Hindi from Delhi was intended to generate a sense of unit among the citizens. Under the series of programmes *Ek Desh Anek Pradesh*, many viewers could learn something about the life style of different states. This programme helped viewers to recognise life styles that existed outside their cultural milieu. As a result of this changes in the concept of *Desh* or country took place among the viewers. Prior to arrival of TV, the concept of *Desh* was confined to a smaller area and circumscribed to the linguistic regions in most cases. It would be appropriate to mention that TV contributed to some extent in understanding the concept of country. National days like August 15 and January 26 attracted large number of viewers. Programmes on piligrim centres were also appreciated. The viewers commented that they could see places which otherwise they could not have been able to visit. The Hindi common news was almost ineffective, more so among non-Hindi speaking villages.

TV - a Reference Point

Television became a reference point for a variety of informations and ideas for adoption. On occasions, television information was used to win a point over other. To this extent, the credibility of television information seemed high. As discussed earlier, the presence of television was also used as a reference point while giving direction to a stranger. In day-to-day discussions, it was also used as a reference point in introducing oneself to a stranger or even to a relative. Especially the umbrella shaped antenna was shown from a distance for pointing out the location and distance of the village from another location. As proud possession of the village, relatives, friends and outsiders were taken to view TV as and when they visited the village.

It seemed that the awareness created by TV was also converted into action on appropriate occasions as and when need arose. In Khedli, for example, fire broke out and villagers started running to collect water to extinguish the fire. A TV viewer, an old illiterate cultivator, shouted "throw sand not water on the fire, don't you remember that it was shown on TV", which was followed. In the same village a widow, who was selling her wheat for Rs. 80/- per quintal to local trader, decided to send her product to nearby market for sale after hearing on TV that Government was buying wheat at the rate of Rs. 105/- per quintal, opening way for other to follow the example.

In Kawadpalley TV messages were used to passify grumbling high jati viewers to sit next to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Examples of TV were being quoted while discussing problems related to day-to-day life.

At times TV also aroused fears in the viewers mind. In Ismailpur after viewing a programme related to antidowry law, many became reluctant to discuss about the dowry openly. On such occasions reference to that TV programme was made. Similar incidents were observed in Pothnal and Sakarra. However, in Dadusar television messages were used for demanding better facilities from district officials by citing TV examples.

So far we have analysed TV influence on adult viewers only. In the following chapter we will analyse the impact of TV on school children and teachers.

Chapter Nine

TV, School Children and Teachers

In the previous chapter, the process of change as a result of TV viewing was presented. In this chapter, the educational role of TV has been analysed. The analyses focus on the impact of TV on school going children in the age group 5-12 years, and on the Multi-media Package Training Programme.

TV and School Children

The 22½ minutes programme in each of the four languages from 10.00 am to 11.30 am was exclusively telecast for the school going children in all villages except Dadusar. The languages used were Hindi (for Ismailpur, Khedli and Sakarra), Telugu (Kawadpalley), Kannada (Pothnal), and Oriya (Ghenupali). Though it was meant for school children ranging from the age of 5 to 12 years, some of the non-school going children also came to watch TV.

The morning telecast programmes can be broadly classified into three categories : (a) class room related instructional programmes, (b) enrichment programmes, and (c) recreational programmes. In the first category, science education programmes were the most notable ones constituting little over 50 per cent of the total programme. The enrichment programmes included those related to health and nutrition, handicraft learning, nation and national heros, imposition of national emergency, etc. The recreational programmes included songs, social and religious plays, etc. Table 9.1 gives an estimated distribution of the programmes in each category in the Hindi speaking areas. The pattern of programme distribution was more or less similar in other clusters.

As the telecast time per language was only 22½ minutes, no more than two programmes of 10 minutes could be shown per day. Also, a lot of 'fillers' were used to meet the 22½-minute programme schedule. Further, it may be mentioned that all the science education programmes were originally made in Hindi language and then these were dubbed in Oriya, Telugu and Kannada. In other words, in all non-Hindi speaking clusters more than 50 per cent programmes telecast were dubbed programmes.

The School Viewers

The morning telecast in the six villages were viewed by children from the first grade to the eighth grade. In Ghenupali and Ismailpur the viewing was done by children upto grade three, in Kawadpalley and Khedli upto grade five, and in Pothnal upto grade four. In Sakarra students from first grade to eighth grade and those of grade ten also viewed TV. This was because the TV set was located in the building used both by the Primary School as well as the High School. Except in Sakarra, Ghenupali and Khedli, children had to walk one hundred to two hundred metres to view TV that was located in a building other than the school as indicated earlier.

At the start of the programme the children would be attentive and would concentrate on the TV screen. Humourous programmes made them laugh, but when they did not understand a particular programme they would make a lot of noise, look at each other or at the teacher. They would even start playing amongst each other showing a lack of interest.

TABLE 9.1

Estimated Distribution of Morning Transmission Programmes in Hindi

Sl. No.	*Programme contents*	*Percentage*
1.	Science Programme	54.0
2.	Health and Nutrition	8.0
3.	Entertainment	13.0
4.	National Awareness	9.0
5.	Handicraft	3.0
6.	Social and Religious Programmes	4.0
7.	Biographies of Great Men	4.0
8.	Emergency Programme	3.0
9.	Others	3.0
	Total	100.0

While the visuals of the programmes received more applause from the children, the audio part of the telecast was not so effective because the dubbing, quality of commentary and translation were not so crisp and effective. In post-telecast period, whenever any question based on the TV programmes were asked the students would not answer. A kind of fear and panic gripped them when they had to answer what they watched on TV. In Ghenupali where the headmaster had taken a keen interest in TV, the students would answer very hesitantly and with a great deal of embarrassment. In villages like Ismailpur and Pothnal there was hardly any communication between the teacher and students. As soon as the programme would end the students would collect their bags and leave.

The programme comprehension on the whole was poor. It often depended upon the content of the programme as well as the age and educational standard of the student. The students of grade one did not show much interest in learning through TV except that they enjoyed the recreational programmes. Students of second and third grades did not understand the science programmes or the underlying themes of the songs. However, the children were happy to see nature on TV such as trees, birds and animals which they saw in their daily lives.

The children learnt through TV how to make different objects. A ten years old boy in Kawadpalley of grade four, after viewing carefully a programme on making paper hats, made a paper hat himself the next morning which led the other students to make similar hats. Similar observations were made in other villages. Programmes showing cities, tourist places and industrial areas captured the children's attention and held them in great awe. They recalled several of these programmes in post-viewing as well as post-SITE interviews.

The children of classes III, IV, V as well as VI learnt songs, however they could not learn the correct tune of the songs. This was evident as they could not stick to the tune of *Janaganamana* as it was taught on TV.

Stories, dances and drama received the most positive response, though recalling of the theme of these varied from class to class. The programmes on national awareness and biographies of great men, could not be comprehended by the children. From the programmes on health and nutrition the children could only learn that one should take bath and keep their surrounding clean, but what was bacteria and how it affected the health was difficult for them to understand.

A few examples can be offered which would reflect the diverse but positive reactions of the school children. In Ismailpur most of the children had not seen a train ; those who had, did not know its mechanisms and its movements. However, after viewing the programme *shakti* (energy), majority of the students who were present on that day's programme came to know about a train. They could not express about energy, but they could very well tell that a train required coal and water for its functioning, as a jeep required petrol. A programme on music *Sangeet Sikkhya*, introducing the elementary classical music, was telecast in Orissa. In the village of Ghenupali music and songs enter in the process of socialization right from childhood. Four of the students were asked to sing the *Raga* as taught on TV. When they had sung, the other students were asked whether they had been singing the correct tune. One student got up and pointed out the mistakes. She also sang the songs correctly as shown on TV.

Few conclusions can be drawn from the analysis. Generally speaking, programmes were much higher than the comprehension level of the school children ranging from the age of 5 to 12 years. It may be said that higher the age group, higher was the comprehension of the programmes, specially the science programme. TV did not affect the attendance of students to any significant extent, though non-school going children were attracted to come to school for viewing TV. Programmes related to creative ability under 'Do it yourself' were most liked by the children, and as mentioned earlier, they made the objects. Increased teacher-student interactions due to TV viewing and pre/post discussions were not observed in most of the villages.

MULTI-MEDIA PACKAGE TRAINING PROGRAMME

The Training Approach

The "multi-media package training" was evolved to train school teachers in science teaching. The programme was designed by the Educational Technology Centre of National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), New Delhi. It consisted of using printed media, interpersonal discussion, radio and television and actual experimentation. Television was the most recent innovation for training purposes. So majority of the teachers named this training programme as 'Television training.' Initially teachers wondered how television could be used for training purposes. To some extent a similar opinion was also expressed about radio.

The multi-media package training programme was conducted twice during the SITE-year. The first time was in October, 1975 and second time in July, 1976 for a duration of 15 days each. The training programme covered all the villages except Dadusar.

During the first training programme teachers were trained in all the six villages. In this training, it was expected that around each television centre ten teachers would be trained with the assistance of a monitor teacher. The latter was specially trained for this programme prior to the

starting of the programme. During the second training programme twenty teachers were assigned to a TV-centre. The observations and the description presented here are based on the systematic analysis of six training programmes observed in the six villages—two during October, 1975 and four during July, 1976 which were made in the villages other than the one under study.

The Organisation and Management

The organisation and management of the training programme varied substantially in these villages ; in Ismailpur the training programme in October 1975 started on a dismal note—the ten teacher-trainees received information about the training a day or two before it started. The teachers' interviews indicated that the teacher from Fatehpur middle school was informed by the Block Education Officer that his name had been recommended for the teachers' training programme. He was surprised due to two reasons. Firstly the very fact of the training itself, and secondly that it was going to be given with the help of TV. On October 16, 1975 none of the participants who came to Ismailpur for training knew any details as regards the training programme. At 10.00 am the training programme was to start but room could not be opened until 10.50 am and even then all the ten trainees were not present. The monitor teacher found it difficult to pinpoint the absence of these participants due to lack of the list. The printed material was also not available for distribution to the trainees. Observations indicated that during the training period little effort was made to follow the instructions ; except in viewing the TV or listening to the radio and preparing post-telecast reports. Only after the printed material had arrived on October 18, 1975 (that is five days after the training started) that a more regular schedule was followed. However, the training had some advantages. It provided the teachers an opportunity to discuss their familial, administrative, local and political problems. A similar observation was made in Khedli during the second training programme held in July, 1976. A daily routine of the training could be summarized as : the pre-telecast 'gossip,' viewing of the TV programme (if the electricity was available), preparation of post-telecast report, short discussion, long lunch and repetition of the same cycle during the radio broadcast.

In Kawadpalley the attendance was higher because out of the 10 teachers 3 belonged to Kawadpalley itself. However, due to power failure the television could not be used for two days ; besides one programme came in Kannada language. Similar observations were made in Pothnal, Ghenupali and Sakarra. The second training seemed to be better organised and planned compared to the first one.

In general, teachers in October, 1975 training felt it was a burden on them. But the second (July, 1976) batch did not make a similar complaint. The most attractive part of the training for both the batches was an expectation of daily allowance for attending the training, which was not paid for a very long time at Ismailpur, whereas in Kawadpalley a small fee (commission) was charged by the official concerned for paying the daily allowance in time. Data are not available to comment about other four villages.

TV Training Impact

After the training was over majority of them agreed that the visuals shown during the programmes were very accurate and helped them considerably in comprehending the various science themes. However, those teachers who were not teaching science did not find all the programmes valuable. Same was the reactions of those teachers who were in their fifties.

The comprehension and retention of educational themes by the teachers were much better when viewing TV in terms of visuals, rather than only listening the radio. TV programmes instilled the

themes in a better way, and enabled the teachers to raise a number of pertinent questions. The training gave the teachers new direction and confidence in teaching science. Further more, it clarified the role of TV, in the minds of the teachers, in imparting training. Besides, divergent views were expressed as regards the conversion of training into practice. The teachers in non-Hindi speaking villages like Kawadpalley, Pothnal and Ghenupali felt it was possible to use the training meaningfully in actual practice. In Hindi speaking villages like Ismailpur, Sakarra and Khedli the teachers felt that the training given could not be translated into practice. Actual observations showed that these teachers did not follow the teaching method suggested in the training. The non-science teachers, who attended the training programme, were the ones who felt most about the non-utility of the training programme.

In terms of the organisation and management, the factors that affected the quality of training included the lack of facilities for accommodation and food in the villages. The age of trainees varied from early twenties to late fifties in each of the villages under study. The age difference was so high that the group could not be harmonious, thereby creating conflict, lack of initiative and age dominance during discussion period. Therefore, it is suggested that in future training should be organised keeping the above factors in view.

Chapter Ten

The Television is Gone

In the last four chapters, efforts were made to analyse the arrival of TV and the process of change that followed due to its viewing. In this chapter, a short descriptive analysis is presented as to how the villagers felt after the TV was withdrawn, and to what extent the induced changes at behavioural level had shown the signs of retrieve. Analysis presented here includes six villages, as TV telecast continued after SITE in Dadusar.

Few weeks before July 31, 1976, the regular viewers were fully informed about the completion of SITE. Radio was also used to inform the viewers and the villagers that SITE was coming to an end. For the villagers, it meant no more TV viewing every evening and for children no more TV viewing in the school. In the last week of July, 1976 viewers started counting the number of days left for them to watch TV. Observations indicated that the viewers in the evening while viewing TV would say "We will be seeing TV for another four to five days ; we should not miss it; we must come everyday." In Khedli, many thought of using political pressure to stop the withdrawal of TV programmes. But nothing was done beyond talking.

In all the six villages viewers gathered near the TV-centre in the first few days after August 1, 1976 with the hope that the programme might be telecast. In spite of the fact that the viewers were aware that the TV programme telecast stopped on July 31, 1976, the anthropologist at Khedli was asked to put on the TV on August 2, 1976. Only when no picture appeared the villagers became sure that there would be no more telecast.

Viewers in the six villages, considered TV as a reactional information giving medium specially related to agriculture.

The regular male viewers in the six villages explicitly indicated their unhappiness and displeasure after the TV telecast was stopped. Their displeasure was expressed in a variety of ways. In Kawadpalley viewers said that they have lost a source of useful pastime during the evenings, whereas in Pothnal villagers became deprived of a source of recreation. The Ghenupali villagers felt that the poor would not be able to see something free any more. Villagers in Ismailpur and Khedli thought that their villages had a deserted look after the TV was withdrawn. One of the viewers in Ismailpur expressed his sadness comparing the withdrawal of TV with the death of a family member. Men and women both expressed similar feelings.

Children were even worst hit due to TV telecast termination. The children felt miserable and lonesome and indicated that their food had become tasteless in the absence of TV. They also felt that the relief they were getting from school while viewing TV was lost.

However, very few specially women and old men felt that it was a good thing that the TV was withdrawn. In their opinion, TV viewing was affecting the eye sight. Many mothers felt that they would not have to go any more in search of their children in the evenings, when they were watching TV at the cost of their evening meals.

The custodians had very mixed feeling. On one hand they felt very 'free' and relaxed after getting relieved of their duties. On the other hand it meant loss of evening recreation and also some 'power' and prestige. In general, the withdrawal of TV was felt and expressed.

Within a few days after the TV was withdrawn, viewers were observed returning back to their "original groups" in the evening. The evening schedule, started getting re-adjusted to the pre-SITE timings. Re-scheduling of the meal time took place and many started returning to bed early. In Khedli, temple attendance increased in the evening, the gossip groups became active again. However, during the various discussions TV was referred to in one context or other. Examples were drawn from TV programmes viewed earlier.

In this respect re-adjustment in the villages did take place after TV withdrawal. However, changes that occurred due to TV viewing in areas like agriculture remained unchanged. Efforts for adoption continued in most of the cases. Few other innovations learned through TV were continued like *Yogasana*. Majority of the adoptions in one form or other were not discontinued until anthropologists left the field in October, 1976.

It would be safe to conclude that TV was liked by the villagers and its viewing was considered a good recreation or pastime. In no way, it was compared to a commercial cinema by the end of the year. One could see cinema from TV too, but it was not considered as another cinema.

Chapter Eleven

Conclusion and Implications

In the history of human communication, India's Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) was probably one of the most advanced techno-social experiments ever conducted on a large rural population, majority of whom had very little media exposure of any kind. SITE, which was conducted from August 1, 1975 to July 31, 1976, was a year's learning experience. It covered about 3200 villages spanning six states and Kheda district of Gujarat. These states, referred to as clusters, were Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan.

Among other things, the study investigated the following :

(a) the process of existing rural communication ;

(b) the role of TV as a new medium of communication in SITE instructional areas ; and

(c) the process of change brought about by TV in the rural structure at micro-level.

Keeping these objectives in view, the holistic study for the evaluation of SITE was undertaken in the seven villages. An analysis of change due to the introduction of TV shows that TV viewing directly triggered changes among the viewers, and also through demonstration and interpersonal discussions. Some of the major implications which can be drawn to provide planning inputs for future national satellite based TV system are summarized below :

(i) The comparison of the language spoken in the village and the TV-programme language suggests possible loss of message-comprehension, specially in the "Hindi speaking" clusters. Serious efforts are required to develop a "new common language" to be used in TV-programme production for larger areas like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan and for future national satellite based TV. The use of higher proportion of visuals is suggested to combat this problem.

(ii) One third of the households own *no* land, individual household land holding sizes are small, and village cultural and developmental communications suggest 'class' differences in communication patterns. So the future rural TV should cater to the needs of this 'class' by treating them as their prime target audience.

(iii) TV in the village was generally well accepted. This suggests that the concept of community TV would go a long way in accelerating the process of development when it is introduced on a large scale in village India.

(iv) A centrally located TV set attracted more audience than a TV set located far away from the village like in Pothnal. As far as possible TV should be located in the central place of the village, and in a public building, to have maximum participation of the viewers.

(v) Custodians' analysis indicated that TV was operated by those who were not custodians. It calls for evolving better methods of selection and training, and larger involvement of the state and district agencies to ensure smooth operation of TV sets in the villages.

(vi) Viewers' attendance is intimately interlinked with agricultural and religious activity cycles of the village. Care should be taken while drawing telecast timing schedule

so that important programmes are not telecast during peak agricultural and religious activity periods. This will facilitate instructional programme viewing.

(vii) It seems that "field demonstration" format was most comprehended even in single-video and multiple-audio system. Further experimentations are required for utilizing this format in future.

(viii) Due to TV exposure a number of innovations were adopted. Innovations requiring little or no external help and additional expenditure stand a good chance of adoption. If the innovation requires only alteration in the existing practice, it has an even better chance of adoption. Attempts should be made to telecast such instructional programmes keeping the target audience and their cultural sensitivity in view.

(ix) Instructional programme plan should be drawn in such a fashion which would allow repetition as it helps in reinforcing the new ideas, learning of the accurate steps, leading to eventual adoption.

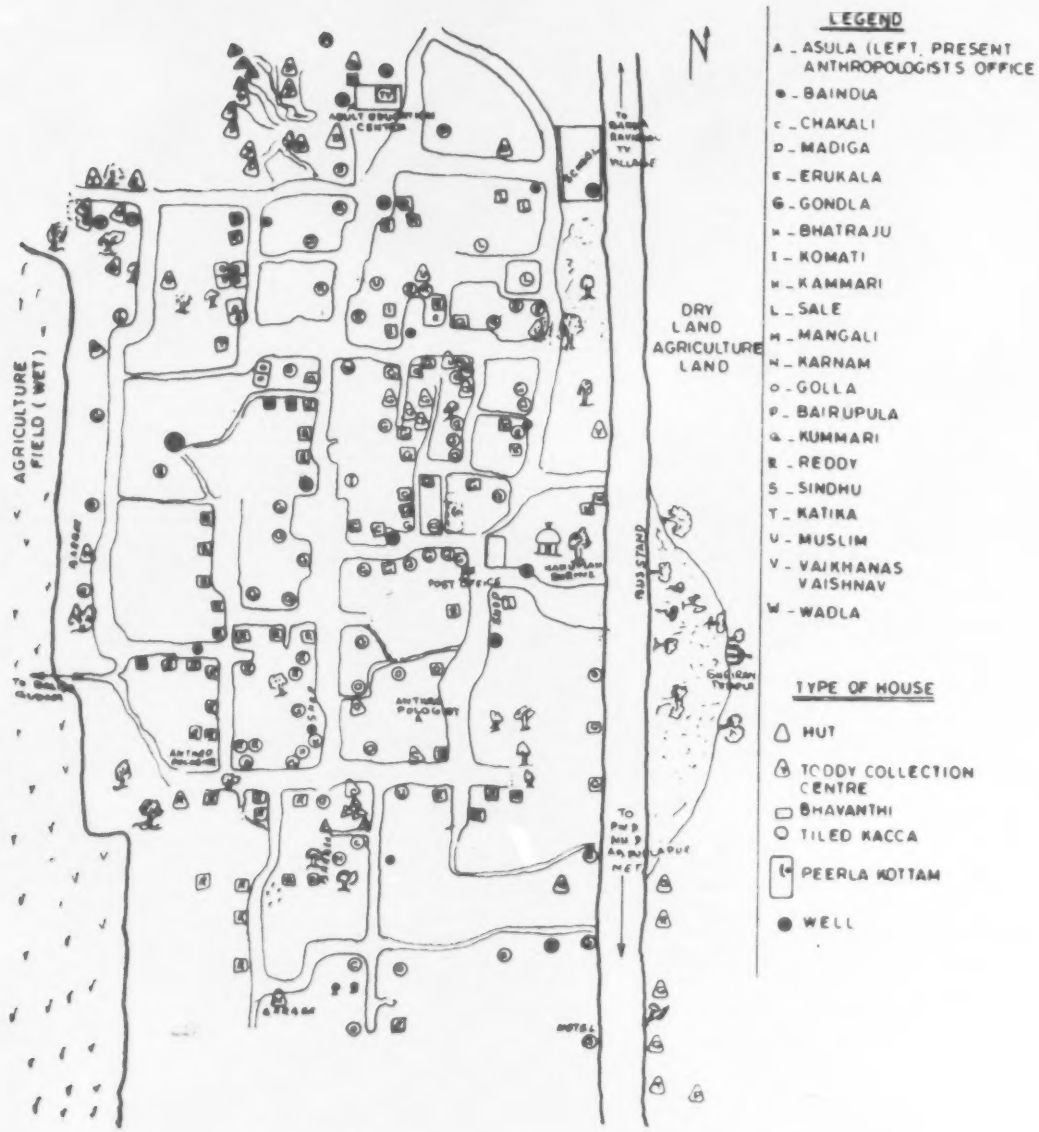
(x) Comprehension of morning telecast was found higher among older children, suggesting segmentation of target audience into a number of age groups and specific programme production with special emphasis on "do it yourself" programmes.

(xi) For optimal use of school TV, the teaching curriculum should be drawn in such a fashion that it would promote teacher-student interaction essential for broadening the child's mental horizon.

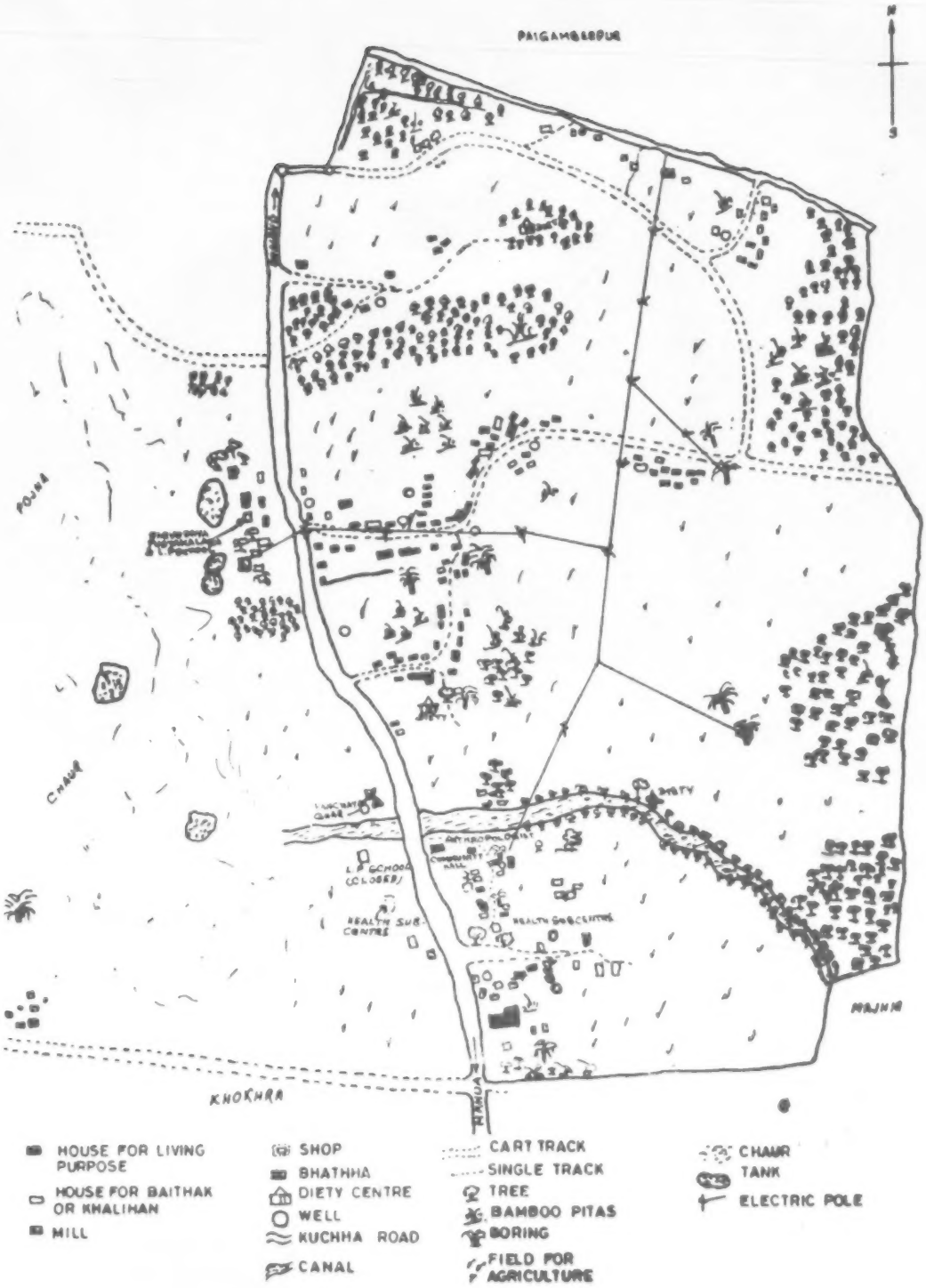
(xii) The analysis of multi-media package teachers' training programme hints at: (a) the use of TV for training might be more useful than radio and printed material, (b) availability of proper facilities are a pre-condition for successful training programme, and (c) proper selection of trainees would help in better utilization of the training.

(xiii) The analysis of special telecast for cultivators indicates that careful telecast scheduling and selection of instructional programmes were essential for achieving the desired goal which was not done in this case.

(xiv) The two-audio and one-video TV programmes related to instructional areas indicate several production difficulties. It requires further investigation as to how single-video and multiple-audio can be used in national satellite based TV system.



KAWADPALLEY DIST- HYDERABAD STATE- ANDHRA PRADESH

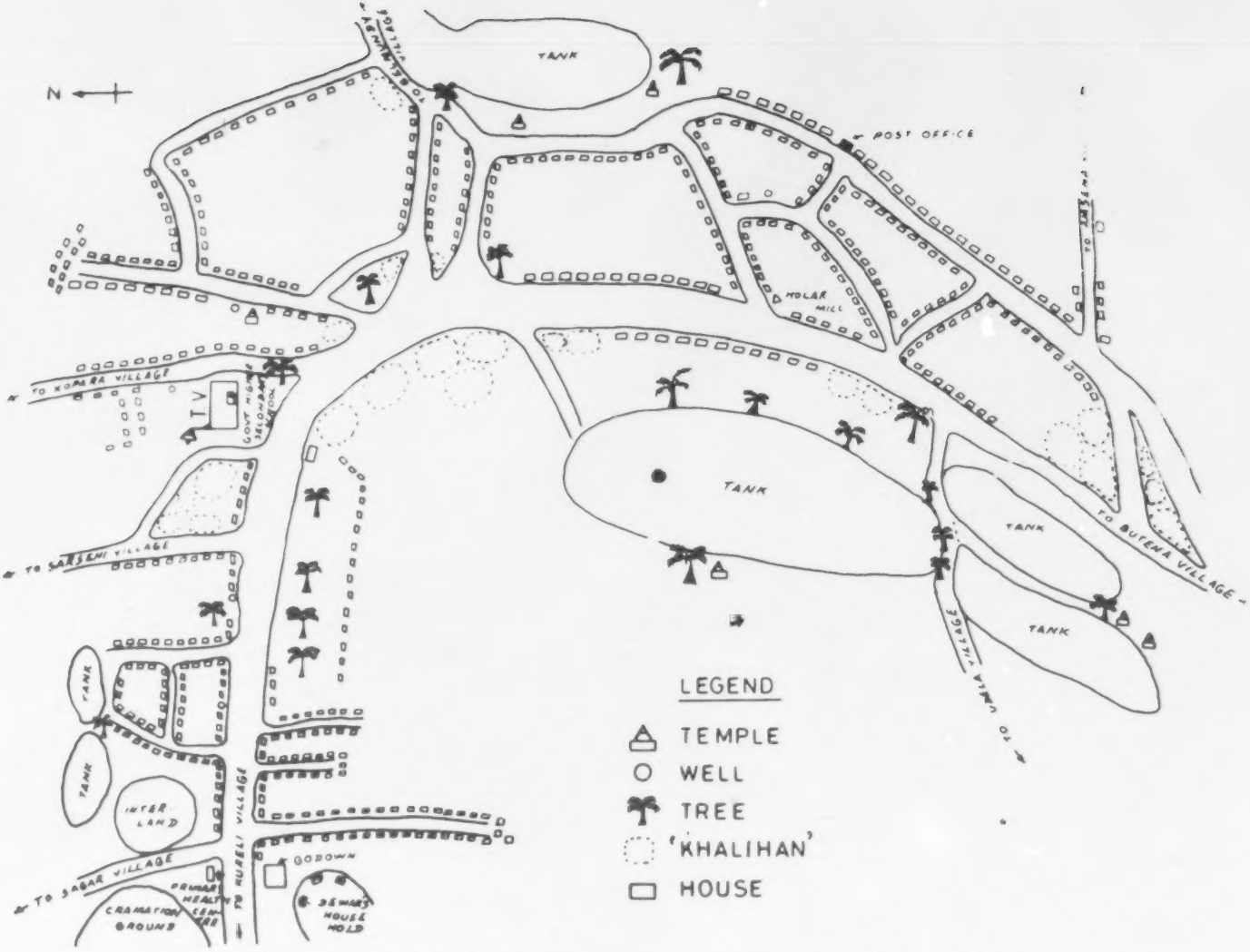


ISMAILPUR DIST - VAISHALI STATE - BIHAR

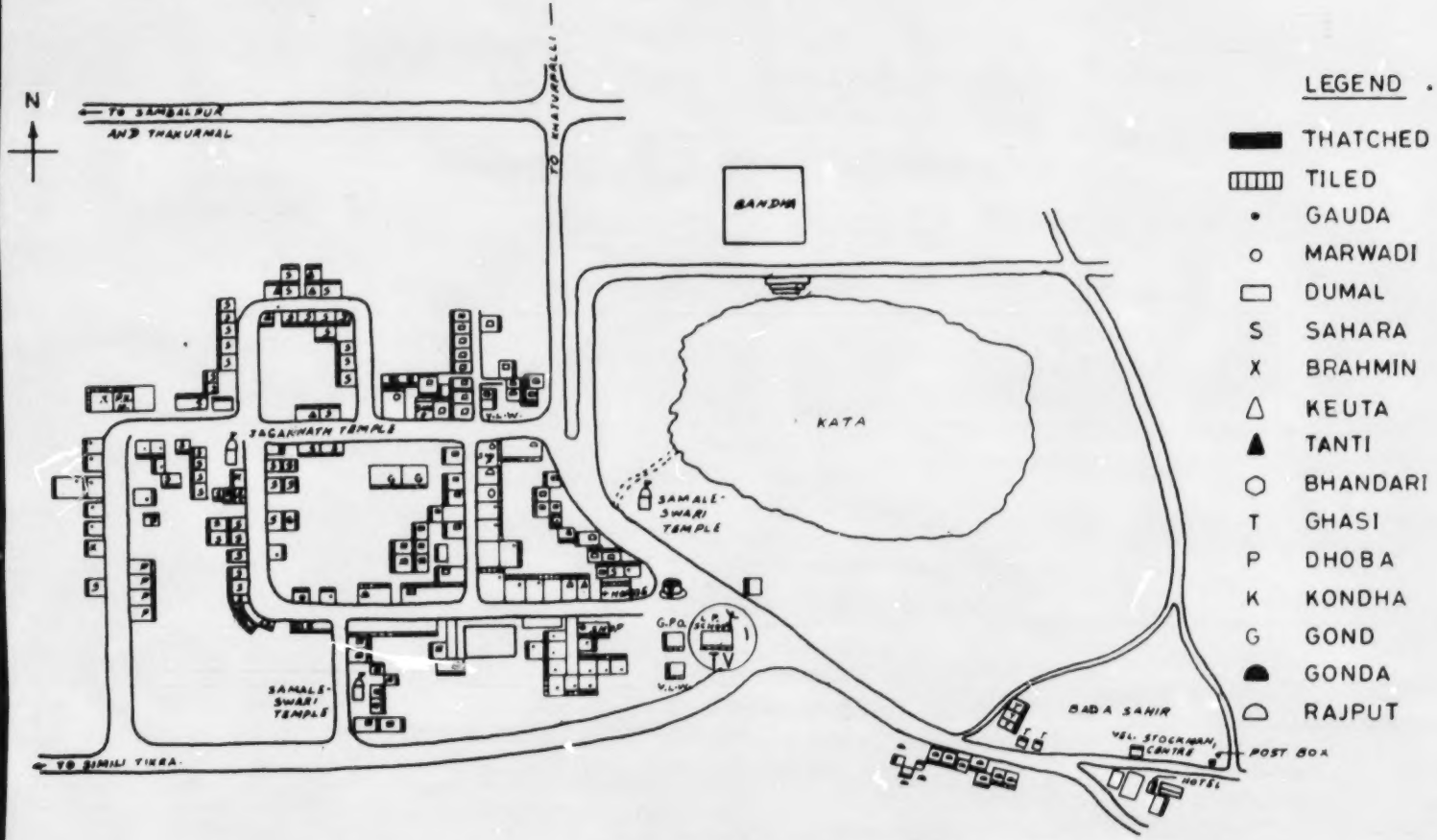
POTHNAL DIST.- RAICHUR STATE-KARNATAKA

LEGEND

- HANUMAN TEMPLE
- VAISHYA HOUSE
- MASJID
- HUCHAPPA TEMPLE
- ISHWAR TEMPLE
- KUMBHAR HOUSE
- FLOOR MILLS
- HARIJAN HOUSE
- HOSPITAL AREA
- BEDARU HOUSE
- STADAR HOUSE
- KURBUR HOUSE
- SHOP
- POST OFFICE
- HARIJAN HUT
- GIN
- HOTEL
- LINGAYAT
- PINJAR HOUSE
- WELL
- BYAGAR HOUSE



SAKARRA DIST.- BILASPUR STATE- MADHYA PRADESH



GHENUPALI DIST.- SAMBALPUR STATE - ORISSA

The Objectives of SITE as defined in the Memorandum of Understanding

General

The general objectives of the experiment were to :

(a) Gain experience in the development, testing and management of a satellite based instructional television system, particularly, in rural areas, and to determine optimal system parameters.

(b) Demonstrate the potential value of satellite technology in the rapid development of effective mass communications in developing countries.

(c) Demonstrate the potential value of satellite broadcast TV in the practical instruction of village inhabitants.

(d) Stimulate national development in India, with important managerial, economic, technological and social implications.

Specific

Indian Instructional Objectives

Primary

(a) Contribute to family planning objectives

(b) Improve agricultural practices

(c) Contribute to national integration

Secondary

(a) Contribute to general school and adult education

(b) Contribute to teacher training

(c) Improve other occupational skills

(d) Improve health and hygiene

Indian Technical Objectives

(a) Provide a system test of broadcast satellite TV for national development.

(b) Enhance capability in the design, manufacture, deployment, installation, operation, movement and maintenance of village TV receivers.

(c) Gain experience in the design, manufacture, installation, operation and maintenance of broadcast and/or distribution facilities to the extent that these are used in the experiment.

(d) Gain an opportunity to determine optimum receiver density, distribution, and scheduling, techniques of audience attraction and organization, and to solve problems involved in developing, preparing, presenting and transmitting TV programme material.

United States Technical Objectives

Test the design and functioning of an efficient, medium-power, wideband space-borne FM transmitter, operating in the 800–900 MHz band and gain experience on the utility of this space application.

Appendix 2

MORNING/EVENING

FORM: REC: 055

DAILY TV VIEWING OBSERVATIONS SHEET

NAME OF CLUSTER _____ DISTRICT _____ VILLAGE _____ DATE _____

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
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Observations of Anthropologist :

.....

Signature of Anthropologist

List of *Jatis* and *Jati*-like groups in Hierarchy*

Kawadpalley (Andhra Pradesh)

I	1. Vaikhanasa Vaishnava
	2. Golkunda Vyapari
II	1. Gudali Kapu (Reddy)
	2. Musti Golda
	3. Komati
	4. Kummari
	5. Katika
	6. Bhatraju
III	1. Gondla
	2. Sale
	3. Kammari
	4. Ausula
	5. Wadla
	6. Muslim
IV	1. Chakali
	2. Mangali
	3. Erukala
	4. Bairupula
V	1. Madiga
	2. Baindla
	3. Sindhu

Ismailpur (Bihar)

I	Nil
II	Awadhiya
III	1. Magahiya Teli
	2. Madesia Kanoo
IV	1. Awadhiya Hazam
	2. Kharmat Nonia
	3. Rahmani Kahar
	4. Khajemansoor Dhunia
V	Magahiya Dusadh

Dadusar (Gujarat)

I	Pandya (Brahmin)
II	1. Shaikh
	2. Suthar
	3. Patel
	4. Parmar (Anjana)
	5. Shodha Rajput
III	1. Moleslom Garasia
	2. Malek
	3. Mansuri
	4. Rabari
	5. Brahmbhatt (Barot)
	6. Sharma (Valand)
IV	1. Divan
	2. Raval (Jogi)
	3. Gowswami
V	1. Vagari
	2. Bhangi
	3. Mal Nat
	4. Ghadhavi (Charan)
	5. Rathod (Valand)
	6. Chunara (Vagari)
	7. Christian

Pothnal (Karnataka)

I	Brahmin
II	1. Lingayat Raddy
	2. Jangams Panchamsali
	3. Vysya
III	1. Kuruba
	2. Bedaru
	3. Medaru
	4. Pinjar
	5. Shaikh

* I = Highest *Jati*, II = High *Jati*, III = Intermediate *Jati*, IV = Lower *Jati* and V = Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe

	6.	Illigeri
	7.	Agasaru
	8.	Akkasaliga
	9.	Kabber
	10.	Kumbhar
	11.	Banajiga
IV	1.	Waddar
	2.	Korravaru
	3.	Patradavaru
V	1.	Begaru
	2.	Christian
	3.	Madaru

Sakarra (Madhya Pradesh)

I		Brahmin
II	1.	Kurmi
	2.	Agrawal
	3.	Chotriya
III	1.	Rawat
	2.	Teli
	3.	Kewat
	4.	Chauhan
	5.	Sonar
	6.	Shekh (Sunni)
	7.	Sindhi
	8.	Patel
	9.	Chipiya
	10.	Lodhi
IV	1.	Dhobi
	2.	Nai
	3.	Gadaria
	4.	Lohar
V	1.	Surya-Wanshi
	2.	Gond
	3.	Mochi
	4.	Panika
	5.	Sarathi
	6.	Dewar

Khedli (Rajasthan)

I		Sanadhya Brahmin
II	1.	Khandelwal Mahajan
	2.	Sanjogi Vaishnav
	3.	Digamber Jain
III	1.	Mali
	2.	Audi Gaor
	3.	Lohar
	4.	Kumbhar
	5.	Nai
	6.	Christian
	7.	Laur Gujar
IV		Nil
V	1.	Koli
	2.	Bairwa
	3.	Bagria
	4.	Khatik
	5.	Rana

Ghenupali (Orissa)

I		Brahmin
II	1.	Marwadi
	2.	Dunmala
	3.	Gonda
	4.	Rajput
	5.	Baishaba
III	1.	Kevta
	2.	Bhulia
	3.	Bhandari
IV		Dhoba
V	1.	Sahara
	2.	Ganda
	3.	Ghasi
	4.	Gond
	5.	Betra
	6.	Kondh

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Acknowledgments

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